

TITLE I—BLOCK GRANTS FOR TEMPORARY ASSISTANCE FOR NEEDY FAMILIES

42 USC 601 note. SEC. 101. FINDINGS.

The Congress makes the following findings:

(1) Marriage is the foundation of a successful society.

(2) Marriage is an essential institution of a successful society which promotes the interests of children.

(3) Promotion of responsible fatherhood and motherhood is integral to successful child rearing and the well-being of children.

(4) In 1992, only 54 percent of single-parent families with children had a child support order established and, of that 54 percent, only about one-half received the full amount due. Of the cases enforced through the public child support enforcement system, only 18 percent of the caseload has a collection.

(5) The number of individuals receiving aid to families with dependent children (in this section referred to as "AFDC") has more than tripled since 1965. More than two-thirds of these recipients are children. Eighty-nine percent of children receiving AFDC benefits now live in homes in which no father is present.

(A)(i) The average monthly number of children receiving AFDC benefits—

(I) was 3,300,000 in 1965;

(II) was 6,200,000 in 1970;

(III) was 7,400,000 in 1980; and

(IV) was 9,300,000 in 1992.

(ii) While the number of children receiving AFDC benefits increased nearly threefold between 1965 and 1992, the total number of children in the United States aged 0 to 18 has declined by 5.5 percent.

(B) The Department of Health and Human Services has estimated that 12,000,000 children will receive AFDC benefits within 10 years.

(C) The increase in the number of children receiving public assistance is closely related to the increase in births to unmarried women. Between 1970 and 1991, the percentage of live births to unmarried women increased nearly threefold, from 10.7 percent to 29.5 percent.

(6) The increase of out-of-wedlock pregnancies and births is well documented as follows:

(A) It is estimated that the rate of nonmarital teen pregnancy rose 23 percent from 54 pregnancies per 1,000 unmarried teenagers in 1976 to 66.7 pregnancies in 1991. The overall rate of nonmarital pregnancy rose 14 percent from 90.8 pregnancies per 1,000 unmarried women in 1980 to 103 in both 1991 and 1992. In contrast, the overall pregnancy rate for married couples decreased 7.3 percent between 1980 and 1991, from 126.9 pregnancies per 1,000 married women in 1980 to 117.6 pregnancies in 1991.

(B) The total of all out-of-wedlock births between 1970 and 1991 has risen from 10.7 percent to 29.5 percent and

"PART A—BLOCK GRANTS TO STATES FOR TEMPORARY ASSISTANCE FOR NEEDY FAMILIES

"SEC. 401. PURPOSE.

42 USC 601.

"(a) IN GENERAL.—The purpose of this part is to increase the flexibility of States in operating a program designed to—

"(1) provide assistance to needy families so that children may be cared for in their own homes or in the homes of relatives;

"(2) end the dependence of needy parents on government benefits by promoting job preparation, work, and marriage;

"(3) prevent and reduce the incidence of out-of-wedlock pregnancies and establish annual numerical goals for preventing and reducing the incidence of these pregnancies; and

"(4) encourage the formation and maintenance of two-parent families.

"(b) NO INDIVIDUAL ENTITLEMENT.—This part shall not be interpreted to entitle any individual or family to assistance under any State program funded under this part.

"SEC. 402. ELIGIBLE STATES; STATE PLAN.

42 USC 602.

"(a) IN GENERAL.—As used in this part, the term 'eligible State' means, with respect to a fiscal year, a State that, during the 2-year period immediately preceding the fiscal year, has submitted to the Secretary a plan that the Secretary has found includes the following:

"(1) OUTLINE OF FAMILY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.—

"(A) GENERAL PROVISIONS.—A written document that outlines how the State intends to do the following:

"(i) Conduct a program, designed to serve all political subdivisions in the State (not necessarily in a uniform manner), that provides assistance to needy families with (or expecting) children and provides parents with job preparation, work, and support services to enable them to leave the program and become self-sufficient.

"(ii) Require a parent or caretaker receiving assistance under the program to engage in work (as defined by the State) once the State determines the parent or caretaker is ready to engage in work, or once the parent or caretaker has received assistance under the program for 24 months (whether or not consecutive), whichever is earlier.

"(iii) Ensure that parents and caretakers receiving assistance under the program engage in work activities in accordance with section 407.

"(iv) Take such reasonable steps as the State deems necessary to restrict the use and disclosure of information about individuals and families receiving assistance under the program attributable to funds provided by the Federal Government.

"(v) Establish goals and take action to prevent and reduce the incidence of out-of-wedlock pregnancies, with special emphasis on teenage pregnancies, and establish numerical goals for reducing the illegitimacy

Oklahoma weds welfare funds to marriage

By Karen S. Peterson
USA TODAY

"You can get out of a marriage contract more easily than you can get out of a Tupperware contract. Is that healthy?"

— Oklahoma Gov. Frank Keating

Oklahoma is putting its federal money where its mouth is.

The state on Tuesday became the first to assign a significant portion of its federal welfare funds to reduce its divorce rate and promote marriage. The move may prove to be contentious, as some experts say such funds are better used to help those in financial need.

The action reflects a personal crusade led by Republican Gov. Frank Keating, who has pledged to reduce the state's divorce rate by one-third by 2010.

And it reflects an advance made by the growing, sometimes controversial "marriage movement," which seeks to cut the nation's divorce rate by methods as diverse as teaching relationships courses in schools and establishing "covenant marriages" that make divorce

more difficult.

Keating emphasizes that some unions should be dissolved. But many others can be saved, he says. "You can get out of a marriage contract more easily than you can get out of a Tupperware contract," Keating says. "Is that healthy?"

The issue also is a financial one for states that "have a lot of impoverished single mothers with young children." Divorce, he says, "has staggering negative effects, both economically and socially. We cannot continue to ignore its impact."

Oklahoma is using \$10 million of its federal grant for Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) to finance part of its Oklahoma Marriage Initiative.

The spending of the federal

money is governed by general guidelines, Keating says, which include promoting marriage, reducing out-of-wedlock pregnancies and encouraging "the formation and maintenance of two-parent families."

Although other states have dedicated some welfare funds to reducing divorce, Oklahoma is the first to make a strong financial commitment, says Jerry Regier, the state's secretary of Health and Human Services.

Oklahoma includes in its tentative action plan:

► **Community covenants.** Working with religious leaders to develop community-based, marriage-strengthening programs.

► **Scholar in residence.** Recruiting a marriage expert for a one-year tenure at Okla-

homa State University.

► **Marriage Resource Center.** A guide for the public to find information and mentors to support their marriages.

► **Statewide marriage conference.** The second such conference is planned for fall.

► **Skills-based courses.** Training a variety of workers to teach research-based marriage skills courses.

► **Better statistics.** Improvement of the data system to document divorce trends.

► **Charity liaison.** Partnering with faith-based and charity groups to strengthen families.

Many in the marriage movement are applauding. "This is really Page One news," says Diane Sollee of the Coalition for Marriage, Family and Cou-

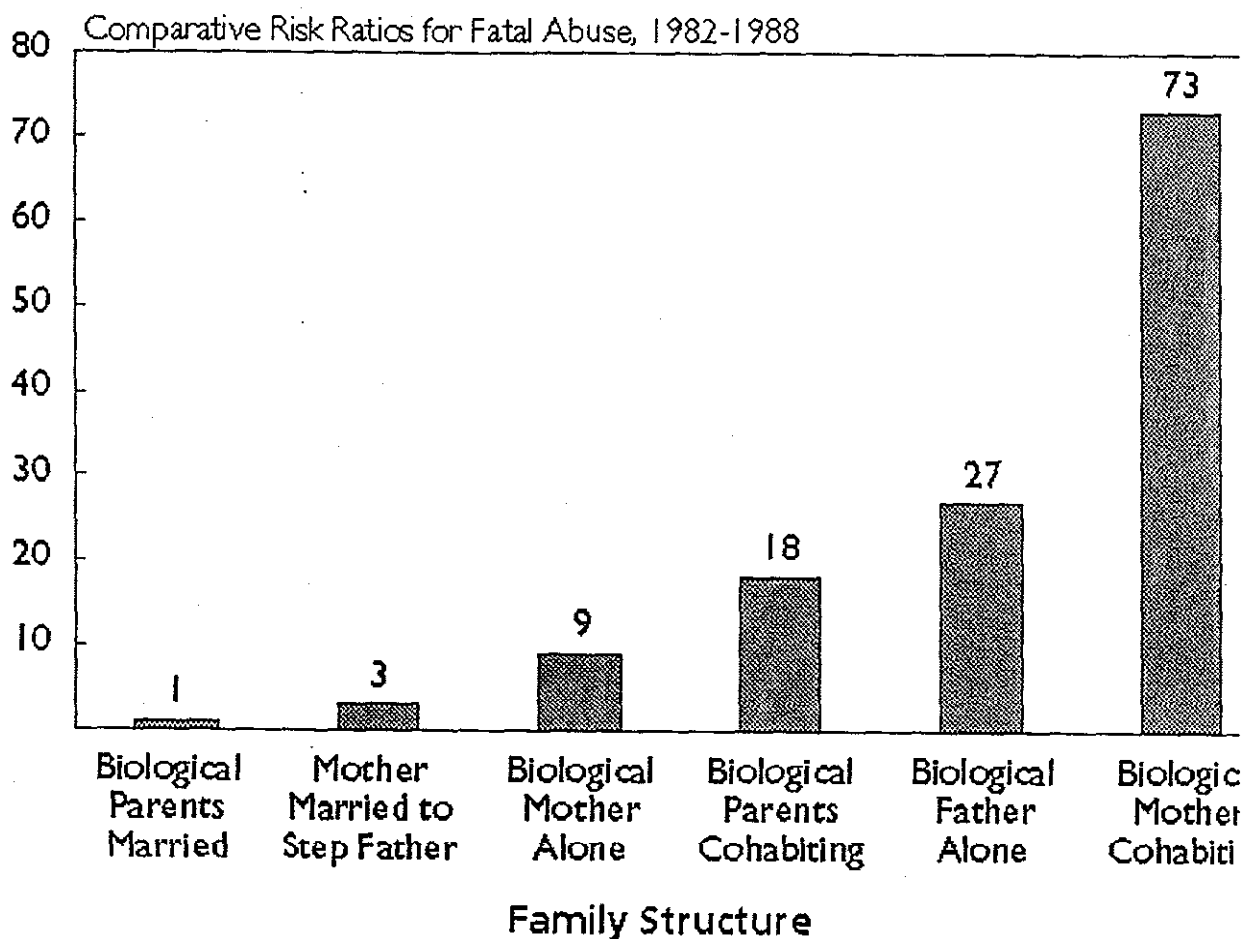
ples Education. This is the first time a big slice of the federal pie is being used specifically to support marriage, she says.

But others object to using welfare funds this way. "It is really taking money away from those at the thin edge, people who have a whole range of needs, health, nutrition, housing," says Don Bloch, past president of the American Family Therapy Academy. "This is not a good use of the funds."

Scott Stanley of the Center for Marital and Family Studies at the University of Denver has been openly "skeptical of government initiatives that mandate stuff about marriage." But he is impressed by the voluntary actions championed by Oklahoma. "Really, this is one of the most striking, broad-based efforts ever. They seem to be thinking about lots of ways to stimulate voluntary actions across the state. I am actually pretty excited about it."

Chart 7

In Britain, a Child Whose Biological Mother Cohabits Was 73 Times More Likely to Suffer Fatal Abuse Than a Child With Married Parents

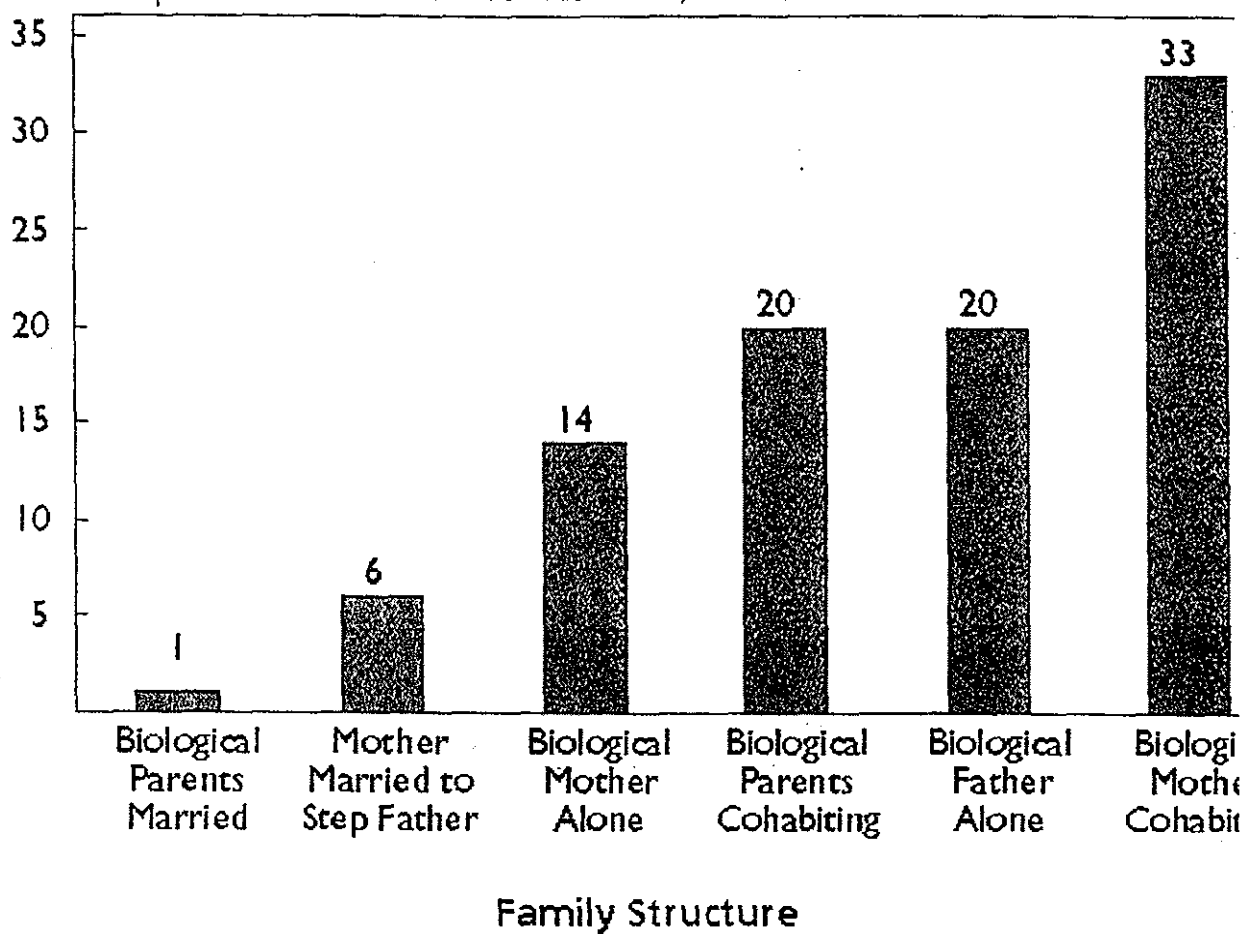


Source: Robert Whelan, *Broken Homes & Battered Children*, 1993.

Chart 6

In Britain, a Child Whose Biological Mother Cohabits Was 33 Times More Likely to Suffer Serious Abuse Than a Child With Married Parents

Comparative Risk Ratios for Serious Abuse, 1982-1988



Source: Robert Whelan, *Broken Homes & Battered Children*, 1993.

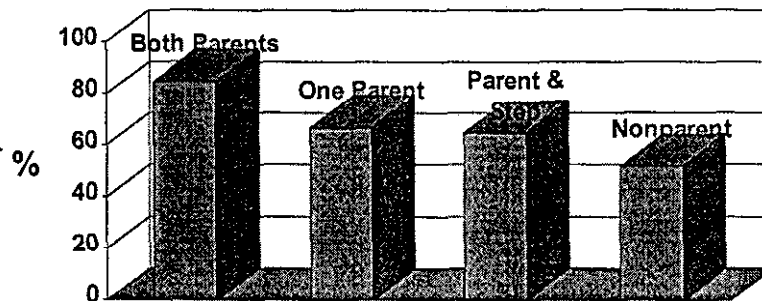
Is Marriage the Key to Lowering Substance Abuse?

- Single men drink almost twice as much as married men
- 1 out of 4 single men from ages 19 to 26, say their drinking causes them problems at work or problems with aggression. Whereas 1 in 7 of the married men in the same age range reported these same problems with alcohol.
- Twice as many young teens in single-mother families and step families reported having tried marijuana than teens in two parent families.

Case for Marriage, 2000, pg. 213.

Educational Achievement

High School graduation in teens who live with:



Teenagers in intact families are more likely to graduate from high school, irrespective of other factors such as household income level. Remarriage and step-parenting do not seem to improve graduation rates after divorce.

ref: The Family in America 7:1 (Jan 1993). citing: Sandefur GD, McLanahan S, Wojtkiewicz RA: The effects of parental marital status during adolescence on high school graduation. Social Forces 71:103-121 (1992).

Educational Attainment

- Children of intact families are more likely to finish high school
- Step families do no better here than single-parent or divorced families
- Family breakup can undo the positive effects of better-educated parents

Children in single-parent or broken families, and in step-families, drop out of school at a higher rate than children living with both parents.

In general, children of college-educated parents do better in school and graduate at higher rates than children of high-school graduates. If the parents are divorced or never married, the family disruption can more than offset this educational advantage.

ref: The Family in America 8:6, June 1994. citing: Wojtkiewicz RA: Simplicity and complexity in the effects of parental structure on high school graduation. Demography 30:701-715, 1993.

Fact:

Never-married women are four times more likely to be the victim of violent crime than those married; divorced or separated women are five times more likely to be victims.

—U.S. Dept. of Justice

Quote:

"...marriage is more than a contract. It is not a mere matter of pecuniary consideration. It is a great public institution, giving character to our whole civil polity."

—U.S. Supreme Court,
From the majority opinion in
Maynard v. Hill (1888)

staying married than those couples who do not live together first. The United States continues to boast the highest divorce rate of all industrial nations. Although divorce is down from its all-time high of 5.2 per 1,000 Americans in the early 1980s, it remains twice what it was in 1960. (In a quirk of demography, we see that divorce affects women more adversely than men. According to the National Marriage Project and U.S. Census numbers, the divorce rate is up from 9.2 per 1,000 married women in 1960 to 19.5 per 1,000 in 1998.)

Now add illegitimacy to the mix. According to census data, 32% of all U.S. babies were born to unmarried women in 1997, compared to just 5.3% in 1960. The good news is that, like divorce, illegitimacy is down overall — from 47 births per 1,000 unmarried girls and women, ages 14-44, in 1995 to 44 births per 1,000 unmarried women in 1997. The trend crosses racial lines as well — white illegitimacy rate appears to have peaked, and black illegitimacy has declined roughly one-fifth since 1992. Of course, the illegitimacy rate among the black population is still disturbingly high — roughly 70 births per 1,000 unmarried black women in 1997 — but not as high as its peak of more than 90 births per 1,000 black women in 1990. These may seem like small numbers. Indeed they are, when one considers that the current rate is roughly one-and-a-half times what it was in 1970 — 26 births per 1,000 unmarried girls and women.⁸ What about those children? What is life like for them, growing up in single-parent homes?

III. What Happens In Single-Parent Homes

THE SINGLE-PARENT FAMILY has become a fixture in America over the last 40 years. In that time, Americans' vocabulary about family and parenting has changed. Mothers and fathers are parents, of course, and we speak of children living in single- or two-parent homes. But what is a parent exactly? According to one national statement about the family, parents are "adult persons who care for children." This is pretty broad. It covers everyone from mom and dad, to the girl next door who baby-sits every Saturday night; not to mention day-care workers. In fact, "parent" may be gradually overtaken and replaced by an even more vague term of art: The "caregiver."

Here is what we know about children who grow up with only one "caregiver" at home, usually the mother. We know they are more likely to live in poverty; they are more likely to drop out of school; they are more likely to end up in the juvenile justice system. We know that an overwhelming majority of adolescents in psychiatric hospitals

Thursday, January 18, 2001

The Des Moines Register GC

DHS gets too much blame in Duis case, lawmaker says

A key Republican lawmaker said Wednesday that the Department of Human Services had taken too much of the blame for the death of Spirit Lake toddler Shelby Duis last year.



Veenstra



Rasmussen

"DHS has been pointed to and blamed to a much larger extent than justified," said Sen. Ken Veenstra, an Orange City Republican and co-chairman of the Legislature's human services budget committee. Jessie Rasmussen, director of the Iowa Department of Human Services, acknowledged last month that her department had made numerous errors in how it handled complaints of abuse before Shelby's death. Rasmussen said Wednesday that she was thankful for Veenstra's comments.

"I very much appreciate his recognition that there is a desire to blame somebody and that DHS is not the only player in this system," Rasmussen said. "I deeply appreciate his recognition that it's people who cause abuse and do abuse, and it is related to our families."

Shine a light on live-in boyfriends

ON POLITICS



DAVID YEPSEN

Getting rid of Jessie Rasmussen as head of the Department of Human Services isn't going to happen. Gov. Tom Vilsack is doing a political Tammy Wynette as he stands by his appointee.

He has mounted a public-relations effort on her behalf, one that seeks to plant favorable coverage of all the wonderful things she has done for the department. His press secretary, Joe Shannahan, is taking personal command of the effort to rehabilitate Rasmussen's image and show Vilsack's support as she starts a drumbeat for a whopping 19 percent increase in the agency's budget next year.

All that spin should help ease the political problems Rasmussen is causing Vilsack.

Unfortunately, it does nothing to prevent more Shelby Duis cases.

Rasmussen and Vilsack have done one thing that will help immediately. They adopted new guidelines for caseworkers to follow in making decisions about removing children from abusive homes. The new policy says "when in doubt, work to get the kid out" of the home.

It's terrible to take an abused child away from biological parents, but, as the Duis case proves, it can be far worse not to act.

This will mean more caseworkers will be going to county attorneys asking to have kids removed because they suspect abuse. That's

likely to mean more children will be taken from their homes and, hopefully, saved from abusive situations.

(It will also mean more kids wrongfully taken. As a result, the department will need to develop better policies for appeals. It shouldn't take six months to investigate parents' contention that their child was wrongfully removed.)

On balance, it was a commendable, albeit overdue, step by Vilsack and Rasmussen.

While they are at it, there's another policy guideline or state law needed in the war against abuse: Get the kid away from the boyfriend.

Ever notice how all these abuse cases tend to involve some live-in boyfriend?

Some conservative groups believe there is a connection between abuse cases and live-in boyfriends. According to the Iowa Family Policy Council, a 1982-88 study of child abuse in Britain found a child whose mother cohabits was 73 times more likely to suffer fatal abuse than a child with married parents. A child living alone with his or her

mother was only nine times more likely to suffer fatal abuse than a child with married parents.

The conservative Weekly Standard magazine said a study by Lester Margolin of the University of Iowa "found that boyfriends were 27 times more likely than natural parents to abuse a child." The publication also reports that the Heritage Foundation also discovered "the number of child-abuse cases appeared to rise in the 1980s along with the general societal acceptance of cohabitation before, or instead of, marriage."

It's "pretty shocking to me," said Chuck Hurley, president of the Iowa Family Policy Council. "But it's a no-brainer. Often a guy who cohabits is just in it for the sex or for the welfare check and the kid is in the way."

As a result, a number of lawmakers are starting to look at the issue of cohabitation and abuse. While it would be unreasonable for the state to force people to get married, it seems reasonable for the state to use cohabitation as part of the evidence package it needs in these suspected cases of abuse.

For example, cohabitation needs to be added to the list of facts local prosecutors can use when they go before a

judge to ask for the removal of a child. Just saying a child has bruises or broken bones might not be sufficient. Kids get those on their own. But judges should be required to consider the presence of a live-in boyfriend as a risk factor for abuse when deciding whether to remove a child.

Unlike other solutions being considered by the department, this won't cost a bundle.

Let's be fair here. There are live-in boyfriends who do not knock kids around. They often become good friends and role models for the children. Unfortunately for the good boyfriends, the bad boyfriends are giving the practice

of living together a bad name. Guys who are living in situations like this will just have to be extra careful not to give the state probable

cause to come and grab the kids away from Mom.

At a minimum, Iowa society and policy-makers can say to single mothers: We're not going to pass judgment on your bedmates. But we are going to pass judgment on what that situation might mean for your children.

It's more likely to prevent another Shelby Duis than some PR effort or big, new spending program.

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Rasmussen



Hurley

9-17-00

Critics target lovers in child abuse

By MARK SIEBERT
REGISTER STAFF WRITER

Oskaloosa, Ia. — A predictable string of events put Clarence Yeo Jr. in front of a judge in Mahaska County on Friday.

Yeo began dating a young, single mother and soon moved into her Oskaloosa apartment early last year.

In a matter of weeks, according to court testimony, he was abusing his new girlfriend's 2-year-old son. Yeo eventually beat the child so severely that he had to be rushed by helicopter to a Des Moines hospital to save his life.

The child suffered bleeding in his eyes, a brain injury and fractures of the spine and foot.

The child's mother, prosecutors said, had looked the other way.

Iowa lawmakers hope to keep the scenario from repeating with such apparent regularity.

State Rep. Dan Boddicker, a Tipton Republican, said statistics show that children are many times more likely to be beaten or killed by a boyfriend than by a biological parent. So Boddicker is drafting legislation that makes such living arrangements grounds for reopening a child custody case.



Yeo

RELATED ARTICLE: Children's advocates assess safety measures.
Page 1B

you cohabitate, that presents a risk to your child,' and the noncustodial parent could go to court and ask for a change in custody," Boddicker said.

A recent book supports Boddicker's assertions.

Two British scientists claim in "The Truth About Cinderella" that children are 100 times more likely to be abused by stepparents or live-in

See PARAMOURS, Page 7A

Lawmakers target 'paramours' in child abuse cases in Iowa

PARAMOURS, from Page 1A

boyfriends or girlfriends than by biological parents.

Some experts question the findings. Even child-protection advocates are wary of characterizing all cohabitation arrangements as dangerous for children.

A mother might flee an abusive husband and move in with a more caring boyfriend, said Stephen Scott, executive director of Prevent Child Abuse Iowa. Like racial profiling, giving different treatment to every live-in arrangement goes too far, he said.

"Live-in situations can be good, leaving morality aside," Scott said. "It's not always bad for a child."

Scott admits that statistics suggest that boyfriends can pose a serious threat to the health of Iowa's children.

Social workers have a romantic-sounding term for these men. Clarence Yeo Jr., a 23-year-old self-employed mechanic from Oskaloosa, is labeled a paramour.

So was Jesse Wendelsdorf of Spirit Lake, who was acquitted last summer for the murder of Shelby Duis, his girlfriend's daughter.

So was Dario Ruesga of Des Moines, who was convicted in 1998 of killing Jonathan Waller, his girlfriend's son.

So was Douglas Oaks of

Bettendorf, who was convicted in 1993 of killing Jerry Nelson, his girlfriend's son.

The majority of abusive paramours, according to experts, are interested in a relationship with their girlfriends, not the girlfriends' children.



Wendelsdorf

Boddicker, chairman of the House Human Resources Committee, said such living arrangements are accidents waiting to happen.

Drugs and other substance abuse heighten the risk, he said.

"Frankly, the biggest problem I have in passing this legislation is we're living in a different era where cohabitation is more accepted," Boddicker said.

A paramour living in an Iowa household with young children raises red flags, but results in no specific action by the state investigators, said Vern Armstrong, chief of protective services for the Iowa Department of Human Services.

Child-abuse investigators weigh the presence of a paramour along with the attitudes of the parent and paramour. But the department manual recommends no steps, Armstrong said.

While the risk to children appears greater when an

unrelated man is in a household, such scenarios make up only a fraction of all abuses cases, Armstrong said.

Iowa had about 9,000 confirmed cases of child abuse last year. Only 4 percent, 376 cases, were proven to be perpetrated by paramours, Armstrong said.

The vast majority of children suffer abuse at the hands of their biological parents. Nationally, parents are the abusers three-fourths of the time.

In the Oskaloosa case, 21-year-old Miranda Charbonneau pleaded guilty in December of knowingly permitting someone to abuse her child, Frank Charbonneau Jr. She was sentenced to 10 years in prison.

A Mahaska County jury found Yeo, her former live-in boyfriend, guilty of multiple counts of child endangerment causing injury. The conviction carries a sentence of up to 50 years in prison.

Yeo's sentencing, scheduled for Friday, was delayed. Judge Richard Vogel agreed to consider tape recordings in which a witness supposedly admitted lying during the trial to get even with Yeo.

Frank Charbonneau Jr. continues to recover from his injuries in the care of his grandparents.

Reporter Mark Siebert can be reached at (515) 284-8127 or siebertm@news.dmreg.com

High court upholds conviction of man who killed 4-year-old

Dario Ruesga is in prison for inflicting fatal injuries on Jonathan Waller, 4, who died in 1998.

By FRANK SANTIAGO
REGISTER STAFF WRITER

Dario Ruesga, who was convicted in the high-profile killing of Jonathan Waller, failed Thursday to convince the Iowa Supreme Court that he should have a new trial.

In a case the court described as "unspeakable child abuse," the justices voted to reject all of the Des Moines child killer's claims and upheld his first-degree murder conviction.

Ruesga was the live-in boyfriend of the boy's mother, Joanne Taggart. She was sentenced to 30 years for child endangerment for

allowing the beatings.

Jonathan, whose battered body had an "R" carved into the buttocks, had been in Ruesga's care in 1992 when paramedics found the boy, who was then 4. He had extensive bruising on nearly every part of his body.

The child needed medical attention for six years. He died in 1998 of pneumonia, which doctors said was related to brain injuries that Ruesga inflicted. Ruesga, who had already been convicted of child endangerment and willful injury, was charged with first-degree murder.

In his appeal, Ruesga argued that since the first-degree murder charge came years after the injury, time had run out for prosecutors to file a charge. He also contended that the murder charge amounted to double jeopardy because he had been convicted earlier of child



Waller



Ruesga

endangerment for the same crime. In his third claim, he said he should have been allowed to represent himself.

The court rejected all counts. "Jonathan survived in a fragile state for nearly six more years. . . . We (are not) persuaded that Ruesga is entitled to relief on any other grounds," said the court.

In two other Polk County cases, the court upheld the first-degree murder convictions of Isidro Ramirez and Enrique Garcia for the shooting death of Daniel Gonzalez in Des Moines in 1998. They were among five people charged with the killing.

Prosecutors said the men agreed to beat Gonzalez for \$100. They had gone to his home with a gun, bat and beer bottles, it was said.

In a Linn County case, a new trial was ordered for an Oxford Junction teen-ager serving a life sentence for killing his father.

The court overturned Nathan Watson's murder conviction, claiming his attorney had a conflict of interests because the attorney had also represented a key prosecution witness who testified against the 19-year-old.

Linn County Public Defender Tim Ross-Boon was appointed to defend Watson, but also defended David Grunewald in a criminal case. Grunewald, who had occupied a jail cell next to Watson's, testified that Watson said "demons made him shoot his dad."

In a Hancock County case, the court upheld a district court ruling dismissing the lawsuit brought by Kim Nelson for a prank by several co-workers at the Winnebago plant where Nelson worked.

Employees threw a pizza party for Nelson on his last day at work, in 1995. Later, the employees taped him with duct tape and carried the struggling Nelson to a shower in the plant. In the process, he was dropped and suffered injuries and mental distress. He sued for gross negligence.

The court noted that pranks were common at the plant and that Nelson had participated in some.

This story includes information from The Associated Press.

Linking marriage and the income gap

1-27-00
Delweir
Daily

The first time I heard Bill Clinton, live and uncut, was in May 1992 at the annual Jefferson-Jackson dinner hosted by Democrats in San Diego.

The Arkansas governor blamed Republican economic policies of the preceding 12 years for creating the biggest gap between rich and poor Americans in more than half a century.

"What the Republicans said was, 'Give us more inequality, and we'll give you more growth,'" Clinton sneered. "It turned out to be a fraud."

So, here we are, eight years later, and Clinton is completing the final year of his presidency. And guess what? A new study by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities and the Economic Policy Institute says that the gap between rich and poor was "significantly greater in the late 1990s than... during the 1980s."

Well, that's quite shocking. After all, Clinton has persistently claimed to have presided over "the best economy in 30 years." And he trots out numbers to back his claim.

Come next month, the current economic expansion will be the longest of the post-war (that's World War II for you Gen X and younger readers) era. During this unprecedented expansion, the economy has generated more than 20 million new jobs and \$2 trillion in additional economic output.



JOSEPH PERKINS

Yet, according to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities and the Economic Policy Institute, during the age of Clinton, the rich have gotten richer, while the poor have remained in place.

"The report shows that, with few exceptions, economic growth in the 50 states has not been broadly shared," said Jared Bernstein, one the report's co-authors.

"The strong economic growth in the U.S. results from the contributions of people in all walks of life, from laborers to corporate executives," he continued. "The fact that many families are not sharing in the resulting prosperity stands as our nation's most serious economic problem."

It's kind of interesting that Bernstein offered no criticism of Clinton's economic policies for the growing income disparity between the nation's most and least affluent.

For during the 1980s, when Ronald Reagan and George Bush were in the White House, the Center on Budget and Policy

Priorities and the Economic Policy Institute -- both left-of-center public policy organizations -- laid the blame for income inequality squarely at the feet of the two Republicans.

But Reagan and Bush deserved no more blame for income inequality during the 1980s than Clinton does for the widening gap between rich and poor during the 1990s. For this trend actually started some 30 years ago.

It has little to do with tax policy -- whether a president raises or cuts taxes. It has little to do with welfare policy -- whether a president increases or decreases spending on anti-poverty programs.

The reality is that the single biggest determinant of a family's upward (or downward) mobility is whether the family is headed by a married couple. Indeed, one of every three poor families in America is headed by an unmarried parent. Conversely, only one out of 20 married-couple families are poor.

It happens that the ranks of one-parent families have dramatically increased over the past three decades. And with two-parent families earning nearly three times the income of one-parent families, it is little wonder that there is a growing gap between families at the top and bottom of the nation's income scale.

So if the nation's economic growth, its prosperity, is to be more broadly shared, as the Center for Budget Policy Priorities and the Economic Policy Institute advocate, and as every man seeking to succeed Clinton professes as one of his foremost goals, then it will not be accomplished through economic policy, but through social policy.

For the problem of the poor is not the availability of jobs, for the economy has generated so many new jobs during the past decade that anyone who can't find a job just doesn't want to work. And the problem isn't taxes because most poor folks don't pay taxes, and many actually receive checks from the government in the form of the earned income-tax credit.

No, to close the income distribution gap, the next president will have to have the courage to say that the path to upward mobility for the nation's least-well-off begins at the marriage altar.

That's not to disparage those who are poor and unmarried not by choice, who would like nothing more than to have a loving, supportive spouse to help them raise their children. Only to recognize that there is no government program nearly as effective as marriage in helping a family escape or avoid poverty.

Joseph Perkins is a columnist for The San Diego Union-Tribune.

THE CHOSEN.

Marital Bliss May Be the Best Investment

By Cheryl Wetzstein

Two economists have calculated the costs of separation and divorce, part of their study on the state of happiness in England and America. A good marriage, they say, means big savings.

Money may not buy you love, but true love is worth a lot of money, say two economics professors who have calculated that a lasting marriage is like money in the bank.

David G. Blanchflower, professor at Dartmouth College in New Hampshire, and Andrew J. Oswald, an economics professor at Warwick University in the United Kingdom, argue that family disruptions are costly, both emotionally and financially. Specifically, they said, someone would need to earn an extra \$100,000 a year to compensate for being separated — the worst scenario for happiness — and earn an extra \$90,000 a year to compensate for getting divorced. Conversely, being in a lasting marriage is like getting a \$100,000 bonus a year.

The pair base their findings on national surveys taken between 1972

and 1998 that asked 100,000 people about their "happiness" and "life satisfaction." The University of Chicago's

Family disruptions are costly: People need to earn an extra \$90,000 a year to compensate for divorce.

General Social Surveys of the United States, for instance, asks 1,500 persons a year questions such as, "Taken all together, how would you say things are these days — would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy or not too

happy?" In England, Oswald uses the Eurobarometer Surveys, which collects similar information on about 60,000 Britons.

In their report, released in November, the professors found that:

- Happiness levels follow a U-shape, rising in youth, declining in middle age, bottoming out at age 40 and rising again.

- The happiest people are women, married couples, the highly educated and those whose parents did not divorce.

- American whites are significantly more happy than American blacks — 21 percent of blacks are "not too happy" compared with 11 percent of whites. However, happiness is trending up for blacks and down for whites, so the gap is narrowing.

- Women are happier than men, but this is changing: The number of "very happy" women fell from 36 percent in 1972 to 29 percent in 1998. Meanwhile, men's happiness is trending upward.

- Adults whose parents divorced have lower levels of well-being than other adults even if the divorce occurred decades ago.

- Cohabiting women are happier than single women but markedly less happy than married women.

- Being unemployed brings almost the same level of unhappiness as being divorced.

- Second marriages appear to be less happy than first marriages.

- Being separated is the single greatest depressor of reported happiness. This is followed closely by being widowed.



Tuesday
March 21
2000

SIoux CITY Journal

"Celebrating Siouland Pride"
Sioux City, Iowa

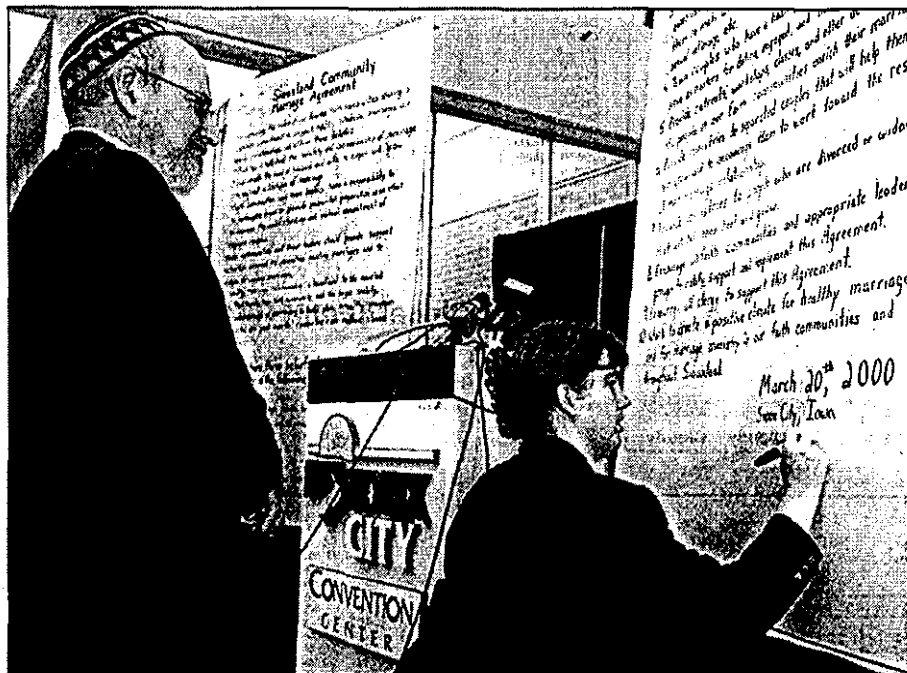
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Highs 50 to 55

50 cents

METRO EDITION

Vol. 136 No. 199

Clergy agree on marriage agreement



The Rev. Kate Bell of Trimble United Methodist Church sings the Siouland Community Marriage Agreement as Rabbi Yossi Zylberberg of

Congregation Beth Shalom waits his turn during ceremonies Monday at the Sioux City Convention Center. (Staff photos by Tim Hynds)

Members of clergy endorse new marriage agreement

By Michele Linck
Journal staff writer

Clergy members representing a multitude of doctrines gathered Monday to endorse a document on which they are all in accord — the Siouland Community Marriage Agreement.

It is an instrument they hope will strengthen marriages and reduce divorce in Woodbury County.

A premise of the CMA is that God is the author of the "sanctity and companionship of marriage." It commits signatories to take certain steps to prepare couples, before marriage, for a relationship that will endure for a lifetime, and to offer on-going support after the marriage ceremony.

Thirty-one clergy signed either the giant version of the CMA or individual copies at a brief ceremony at the Sioux City Convention Center. The number includes the endorsement of eight Catholic priests, one from each parish in Sioux City. They were submitted by Bev Hurni of the Family Program for the Sioux City Diocese.



The Rev. David Morris of Wesley United Methodist Church signs a copy of the Community Marriage Agreement Monday.

Others signing represented Jewish, Methodist, Lutheran, Baptist, Open Bible, Assembly of God, Nazarene and other traditions. Rabbi Yossi Zylberberg of Congregation Beth Shalom, signed the CMA in Hebrew and English, and the Rev. Tom Lo Van, associate pastor at Morningside Lutheran Church, added Laotian to his English signature.

In remarks before the signing, Lo Van, a former social worker, said, "Marriage is very important; we invest our time and money into different issues, but not marriage, so this is important for us." He added that the agreement has strong support in the church and the Asian community.

Zylberberg said the CMA is "not a liberal or conservative view" and not a "fundamentalist or traditionalist issue." He said Catholics, Protestants and Jews have different traditions, but all agree the institution of marriage must be supported.

After that, drug and alcohol

SEE WOODBURY'S
continued on page A3

Woodbury's divorce rate nearly 70 percent

from page one

abuse and domestic abuse must be addressed and families supported, he said. "We need to be able to show the community in years to come that we welcome and support the children and families that come from marriages. Marriage is just the beginning."

Signatories of the Community Marriage Agreement promise to require couples whom they marry to participate in pre-marital counseling beginning at least four months before the ceremony, and to meet at least twice after the ceremony with the pastor or a marriage-mentor couple. It also requires them to encourage sexual abstinence before marriage.

The CMA calls upon congregations to provide support such as mentoring, workshops and retreats to help couples maintain healthy marriages and survive difficult times.

The focus on building marriages, and thus families, is especially apt for Woodbury County, where the divorce rate was 60 percent in 1997, and 69 percent in 1998, according to Erik Larsen. Larsen is an organizer of Family First of Siouxland, which he said will help connect small congregations to

some marriage support activities they may not be able to provide on their own.

The divorce figures come from comparing the number of dissolutions to marriage licenses issued. In 1998 in Woodbury County there were 454 divorces and 654 marriages, according to the Iowa Department of Health Center for Health Statistics.

The national average for divorce is about 53 percent.

Since 90 percent of Iowa marriages are performed in churches or other faith centers, clergy are on the front lines to reverse the trend.

The agreement has been more than a year in the drafting by the Spiritual Leadership Council of Siouxland — a broad-based faith coalition led by the Rev. Kate Bell of Trimble United Methodist Church, and now headed by Zylberberg — with guidance from the Des Moines-based Iowa Family Policy Center.

The center has been instrumental in establishing a similar agreement in Cedar Rapids, and other Iowa communities. Divorce rates have dropped 10-15 percent within a year in communities where a CMA has been signed, according to Mike Hartwig, IFPC president.

Organizers here unveiled their document on Valentine's Day and have since worked to draw more clergy into the agreement.

Clerics vow to bolster marriage

Community pledge calls for counseling, yearlong courtship

By Tom Fruehling

Gazette staff writer

CEDAR RAPIDS — More than 80 area ministers from most major denominations came together Thursday to sign a document that they will follow common guidelines before marrying couples.

The goal of the compact is to strengthen marriages and thus reduce the rate of divorce.

Signing of the Community Marriage Agreement was held outside the clerk of court's office at the Linn County Courthouse — the office where divorce papers are filed.

The Rev. Charles Daugherty, who has led a yearlong effort among a broad-based group of clergy to establish the agreement, said he was not only extremely pleased by the turnout but also by the diversity represented.

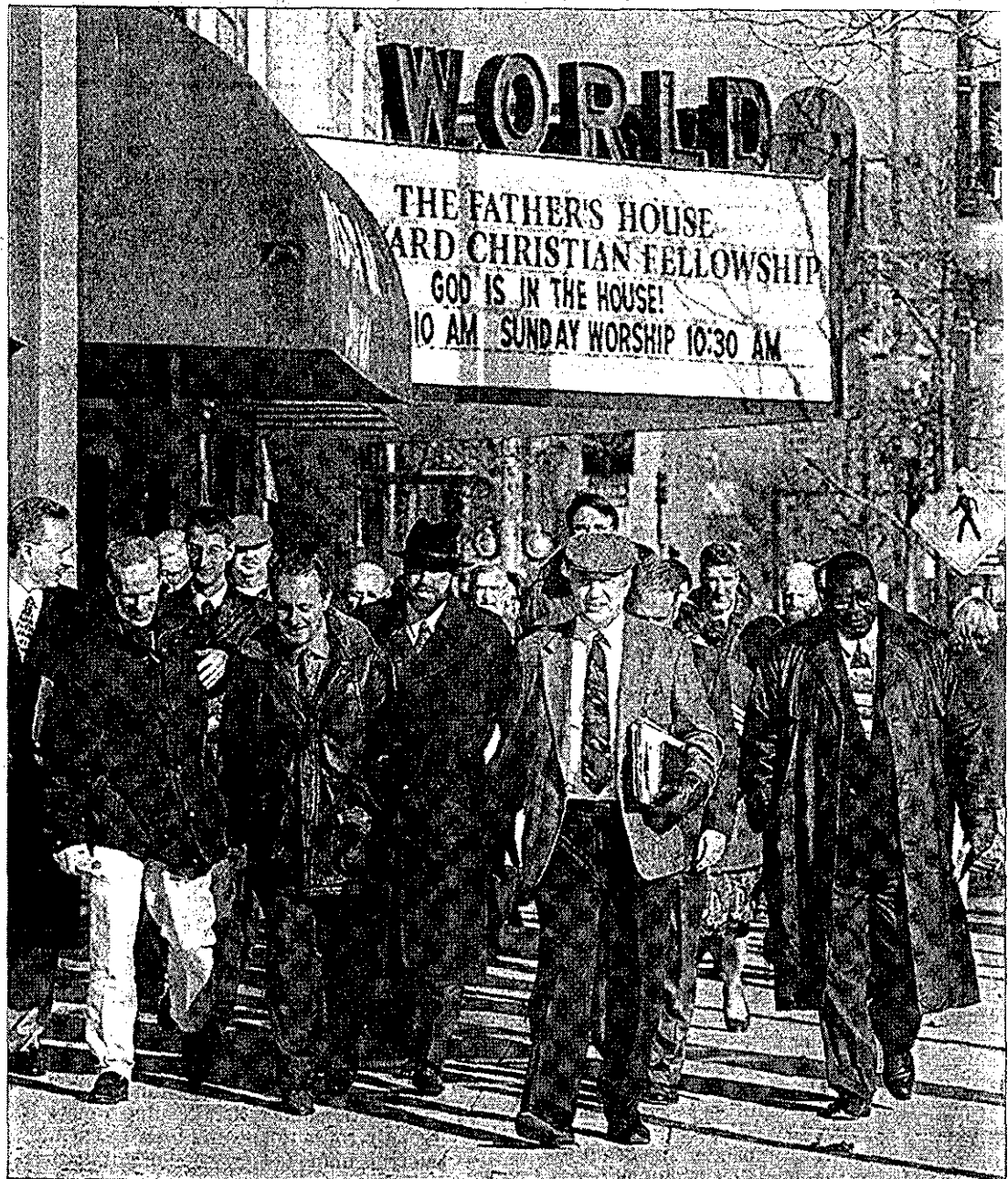
"Such solidarity can change the culture of our community," he said. "Working together to strengthen marriages is like building a wall. You don't have a wall if it has gaps in it. This is an opportunity to close those gaps."

Daugherty said that besides the initial participants, many others have indicated they will join the countywide project.

Among the principles the ministers agreed to:

- Wait four months between the first premarital pastoral appointment and the wedding.
- Encourage a one-year courtship.
- Schedule at least six premarital counseling sessions

■ Turn to 10A: **Marriage**



Gazette photo by L.W. Ward

About 80 area ministers marched from The Father's House church on Third Avenue SE to the Linn County Courthouse on Thursday afternoon. At the courthouse they formally signed the Community Marriage Agreement, a pledge to practice principles designed to strengthen families and reduce the divorce rate. The principles include premarital counseling and a four-month wait between the first premarital pastoral appointment and the wedding.

Marriage: Prenuptial help stressed

■ From page 1A

and two sessions after marriage.

- Encourage sexual abstinence before marriage.
- Provide other married couples as mentors to newlyweds.
- Help set up programs in their churches and community to support strong marriages.

The idea behind the plan, according to Daugherty, is to do more to help couples before marriage to avoid problems afterward. It will not only bolster families but society at large, he said.

"We are offering a plan to last a lifetime," he said.

The Rev. Dan Kolander of First Lutheran Church said many of these same guidelines are already used at his church. But he thinks it is significant that the agreement has wide and documented support.

"I think it is important for couples to know that we as pastors are united in this."

And Francis Frangipane, senior pastor at River of Life Ministries, said the coming to-

gether of the clergy for a common goal symbolizes to the community that they value strong families.

"There is a lot of love shown here. These are open arms who want to lift people up to a better life. If we remain faithful of the vision, we can transform our society," he said.

Daugherty said that in other U.S. cities where similar accords have been adopted, the divorce rate has dropped by as much as 50 percent.

But the Rev. Linda Livingston of Ascension Lutheran Church in Marion, who served on the steering committee, said signing the agreement is only the start, not the end, of the marriage-building process.

"What this is," said another committee member, Pastor Rick Summerhays of First Assembly of God, "is a statement to God and the community that we care about the quality of marriage and will do the best we can to build a strong community."

Ministers, counselors who have signed pact

Here is a list of the ministers and marriage counselors who, to date, have signed the Community Marriage Agreement:

Rev. Steve Aronowitz, Community Bible; Rev. Jon Ashworth, Eastview Christian; Rev. Ray Barrett, New Covenant Bible; Elder Wendell Beets, Word of Faith Pentecostal; Rev. Allen Biere, Christian Missionary Alliance; Pastors Marty and Sandy Boller, The Father's House Vineyard; Pastors Brian and Andrea Brinkert, The Father's House Vineyard.

Also, Rev. Kerry Brown, First Assembly of God; Rev. C. B. Carroll, New Covenant Bible; Rev. Jeff Carlson, Oakland Church of the Nazarene; Rev. Timothy Carter, First Church of the Nazarene; Rev. Vernon Coates, Cedar Rapids Christian Center; Rev. Ron Connerly, Noelridge Christian.

Also, Rev. Thomas Carver, Shueyville United Methodist; Rev. Bruce Dahlem, Living Word Ministry; Rev. Charles P. Daugherty Sr., Solid Rock Christian; Rev. Joel DeSousa, Cedar Valley Bible; Rev. Robert Dye, Noelridge Baptist; Rev. Marvin Felty, First Assembly of God; Rev. Don Fields, Liberty Word.

Also, Rev. Barry Foster, Cedar Rapids Christian Center; Rev. Francis Frangipane, River of Life Ministries; Rev. Sonny Friis, First Church of the Open Bible; Rev. Rick Gail, First Assembly of God; Rev. Pete Grose, New Life Community.

Also, Rev. David Hagstrom, St. Mark's Lutheran; Rev. Gary Hess, St. Mark's Lutheran; Rev. Jerry Hill, Oakland Church of the Nazarene; Rev. Duane Hix, Kenwood Park Presbyterian; Rev. Timothy Horton, Spirit of Faith Family Church; Timothy Hunter, Keys To Living Counseling Center.

Rev. David Huskey, Eastview Christian; Rev. Larry Janda, First Church of the Open Bible; Rev. Jay Jentink, Calvary Baptist; Rev. Lonnie Jordan III, Mount Zion Missionary Baptist; Rev. Kurt Jurgensmeyer, New Life Community; Rev. Alfred Kaupins, St. Mark's Lutheran.

Rev. Glenn Kazan, River of Life Ministries; Rev. Michael Kleeberger, Squaw Creek Baptist; Rev. David Kolander, First Lutheran; Rev. Robe Kunz, Marion Christian; Rev. Charles Lang, All Saints Catholic; Rev. Mark Larson, Edgewood Baptist; Rev. Duane Laugerman, New Life Community; Elder Carter LeFlore, Word of Faith Pentecostal; Rev. Dick Lehman, First Lutheran; Rev. Linda Livingston, Ascension Lutheran; Rev. Douglas MacLeod, Peace Christian Reformed; Deacon John Malone, St. Patrick and Holy Trinity Catholic.

Also, Lon Marshall, Cornerstone Brief Therapy; Rev. Tim Maybee, First Lutheran; Rev. Richard Marsceau, Noelridge Baptist; Rev. Don McGarvey, First Assembly of God; Rev. Paul Miller, Oakland Church of the Nazarene; Rev. William Nissen, River of Life Ministries.

Also, Pastor Ernest Nicholas, Ellis Park Church of God; Rev. Jerry Park, Squaw Creek Baptist; Rev. Stephen Parker, Noelridge Christian; Rev. Kevin Passion, Community Bible; Rev. Al Perez, First Assembly of God; Rev. Marlon T. Perkins, Covenant Seventh-day Adventist.

Also, Rev. Nathaniel Perry, Faith Bible; Rev. Tim Polk, River of Life Ministries; Rev. Stephen Russell, Youth For Christ; Rev. Randall Sche, Cedar Hills Evangelical Free; Rev. Terry Seufferlein, Central Church of Christ; Rev. Charles Sheppard, Gospel Tabernacle.

Also, Rev. Devon Smith, Living Hope Wesleyan; Rev. Larry Sohn, First Assembly of God; Rev. Richard Speight Jr., Christ Community Unite Methodist; Rev. Darren Stoelzing, Faith Bible; Rev. Richard L. Summerhays, First Assembly of God; Rev. Ron Thatcher, Agape Way Ministries.

Also, Ed Thomson, River of Life Ministries; Rev. Robin Tynor, Cedar Hills Evangelical Free; Rev. Brent Watkins, River of Life; Rev. Stanley Wiersen, First United Methodist; Rev. John Wilbur, Noelridge Baptist; Rev. Margaret Richardson Zedan, Christ Church Presbyterian.

THURSDAY, Oct. 12, 2000

MUSCATINE JOURNAL

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VALUE, VALUES AND COMMUNITY SERVICE SINCE 1840

50 CENTS

Marriage moves front, center

Local pastors take steps toward drafting Marriage Matters agreement

Bob Link
of the Muscatine Journal

MUSCATINE, Iowa — Muscatine's two ministerial associations took very preliminary steps in considering a Marriage Matters agreement Wednesday.

Although falling short of making a commitment to a community-wide marriage program, representatives of several churches agreed that a committee should be named to begin drafting a local agreement.

Representatives of the

Iowa Family Policy Center (IFPC) met with 23 members of the Muscatine Area Evangelical Association and Muscatine Ministerial Association Wednesday at Zion Lutheran Church.

The Iowa family group believes divorce, and more importantly marriage, needs to become a high-profile community issue. They claim the breakdown of the traditional family increases juvenile crime, teen pregnancy, child poverty, suicide, welfare rolls and even more failed mar-

riages.

In an effort to improve the family unit, the IFPC is targeting communities across the state, asking them to draft their own plan for a Marriage Matters initiative and a community marriage agreement. Muscatine is one of the first communities to be targeted.

IFPC President Charles Hurley, a former state legislator, told the Muscatine pastors that it was the group's effort "to build strong families from the git-go."

He said communities in

Iowa, including Cedar Rapids and the Siouxland Community (churches in five counties) have adopted community marriage agreements.

Michael Hartwig, vice president of IFPC, said 46 of every 100 marriages in Iowa end in divorce and that the national rate is even higher at 52 percent. He also noted that 90 percent of all marriages are performed in churches; hence, the focus on church leaders to help create a community marriage agreement.

Marriage Matters agree-

ments work best when entire communities are involved and the effort is led by the local clergy, Hartwig said.

Hartwig said the agreement is signed by churches leaders, who tell engaged couples that "we will not perform marriages unless you do these things."

The requirements generally include premarital and post-marital counseling, waiting periods, couple mentoring and personality tests.

"We have a vision to bring

► MORE ON MARRIAGE, PAGE 3A

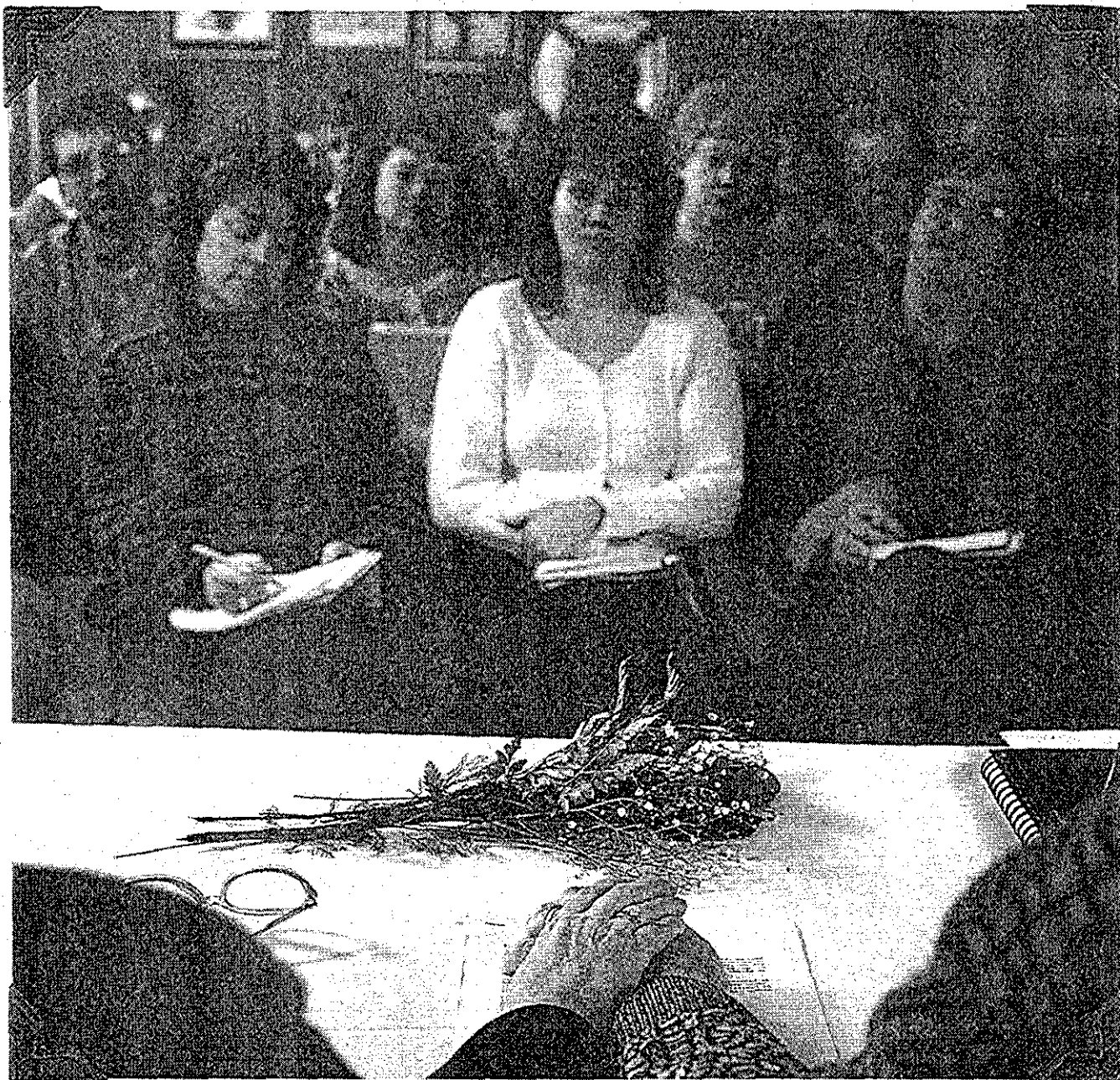
TIME

For Better, For Worse

The growing
movement
to strengthen
marriage and
prevent divorce



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PAT AND JOYCE CLARK

Retrouvaille coordinators for the Youngstown, Ohio, diocese tell their story to leaders and recent graduates

jobs at decent wages, flex-time and job sharing would all help to reduce the stresses on American households, which are overtaxed, overburdened and overwhelmed. And while entering into marriage with the utmost care and deepest consideration can only be to the good, it may be marriage itself—along with the most basic institutions like the workplace—that continues to need refining. "I would say we're in a stalled revolution," says Hochschild. "Women have gone into the labor force, but not much else has changed to adapt to that new situation. We have not rewired the notion of manhood so that it makes sense to men to participate at home.

Marriage then becomes the shock absorber of those strains."

Mark Geyman and Laura Richards are convinced that they are increasingly prepared to handle those strains. Since they began meeting with Patti and John Thompson, says Mark, "we have done a lot of talking, more than we were." They have had conversations about whose family they will see during holidays and how they will handle their finances. And they have tried to grapple with the problem of Laura's jealousy. "It's been helpful," says Mark. "I think she's beginning to open up a little more. She's being more trusting." The fact that one of

Laura's sisters is going through a divorce makes the idea of building a secure marriage from the outset feel all the more urgent to this young couple. And in spite of the problems that have begun to crop up during a time when they wish only to focus on the excitement of planning a wedding, Laura insists she is looking into her future with, well, a somewhat tempered confidence. As she puts it, "I'm still sure we want to get married, and everything."

—Reported by
Ann Blackman/Washington, Gideon Gil/Jeffersonville,
Jennifer Mattos/New York, Elizabeth B. Mullen/San
Francisco, Sophronia Scott Gregory/Miami, and
Leslie Whitaker/Chicago

SIOUXLAND

COMMUNITY MARRIAGE AGREEMENT

with accompanying explanation

“We have established this agreement because we love the people of this community and we desire to give them every opportunity to succeed in marriage.”

March 20, 2000

Siouxland Community Marriage Agreement

Recognizing the value of our diverse faith communities sharing a common commitment to support healthy individuals, marriages, and family relationships, we affirm these beliefs:

- God has established the sanctity and companionship of marriage.
- God intends the bond of husband and wife to deepen and grow throughout a lifetime of marriage.
- Faith communities and their leaders have a responsibility to participate in and to promote premarital preparation in an effort to improve the understanding and mutual commitment of engaged couples.
- Faith communities and their leaders should provide support activities designed to strengthen existing marriages and to restore struggling marriages.
- A healthy marriage relationship is beneficial to the married couple, their family, their faith community, and the larger society.
- Abuse in a marriage is contrary to God's plan. A healthy program of premarital and post marital counseling can reduce abuse of all kinds.

Because I share these beliefs, I agree to uphold marriage in the following ways:

1. Encourage teens and single adults to grow into wholeness, to develop healthy self-esteem, and to practice sexual abstinence before marriage.
2. Expect engaged couples who ask for the blessing of our faith community:
 - a) to contact the leader of *our* faith community at least 4 months prior to the anticipated wedding date;
 - b) to participate in premarital sessions during which a diagnostic tool is used to help them focus on strengthening their relationship; and
 - c) to participate in at least two post-ceremony sessions with a clergy person and/or a marriage mentor.
3. Offer relationship instruction that will help couples establish their relationship on a firm foundation, empowering them to make wise choices regarding communication, finances, sexual intimacy, etc.
4. Train couples who have a healthy marriage relationship to serve as mentors for dating, engaged, and newly married couples.
5. Provide retreats, workshops, classes, and other activities to help the people in our faith communities enrich their marriages.
6. Provide services to separated couples that will help them heal and grow and to encourage them to work toward the restoration of their marriage relationship.
7. Provide services to people who are divorced or widowed that will help them heal and grow.
8. Encourage all faith communities and appropriate leadership groups to ratify, support, and implement this Agreement.
9. Encourage all clergy to support this Agreement.
10. Work to create a positive climate for healthy marriages and for pastoral services in our faith communities and throughout Siouxland.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Representing: _____

City: _____

Siouxland Community Marriage Agreement

"We have established this agreement because we love the people of this community and we desire to give the people we serve every opportunity to succeed in marriage."

Supportive Document

Given the complexity of the Agreement we found it necessary to formulate a supportive document. It is our hope this document gives insight into the reasoning behind the major points of the Agreement.

Agreement 1: *Encourage teens and single adults to grow into wholeness, to develop healthy self-esteem, and to practice sexual abstinence before marriage.*

We uphold the sanctity of sexuality. God graced us with this holy need to share complete intimacy—emotional, spiritual, mental, physical, and sexual. Because we believe this deeply, we urge couples to cherish the desire they have for each other and to consider seriously how they act on their desires.

The reduction of this relationship to the purely physical trivializes it and abuses it. We urge young people not to make the sacred into the merely ordinary. Throughout history, many religions and cultures have upheld the standard of premarital abstinence as a way of protecting people and society from such harm.

Today' popular culture has largely dismissed the divine aspect of the sexual relationship and embraced the purely physical. Sex outside of marriage has become the norm. We believe that this trend correlates with the degeneration of the success of marriages as well as other societal ills. For example, statistics have clearly shown that marriages which follow a period of living together are less likely to succeed than those which do not.¹

We also believe that it is the responsibility of religious leaders to be a voice that raises the divine above the values of society. In this case the leadership raises the ideal of premarital abstinence.

The drafters of this document recognize that the time to begin teaching about abstinence is much earlier in life than during marital preparation, but it is important nonetheless. We believe that such teaching is vitally

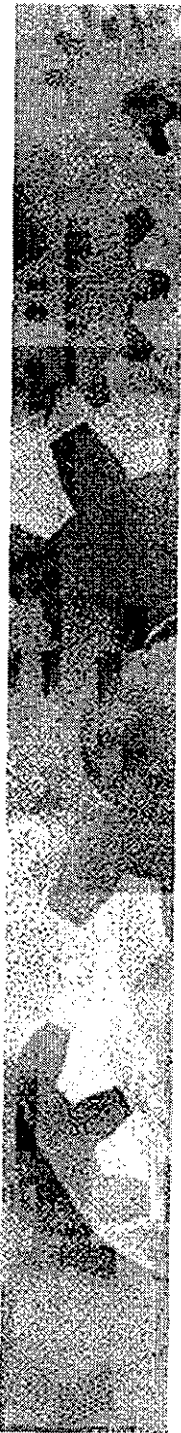
¹ Sociologist Neil Bennett, Yale University, reported in *Psychology Today* (July/August 1988), the National Survey of Families and Households, reported a 50 – 100% greater likelihood of divorce.



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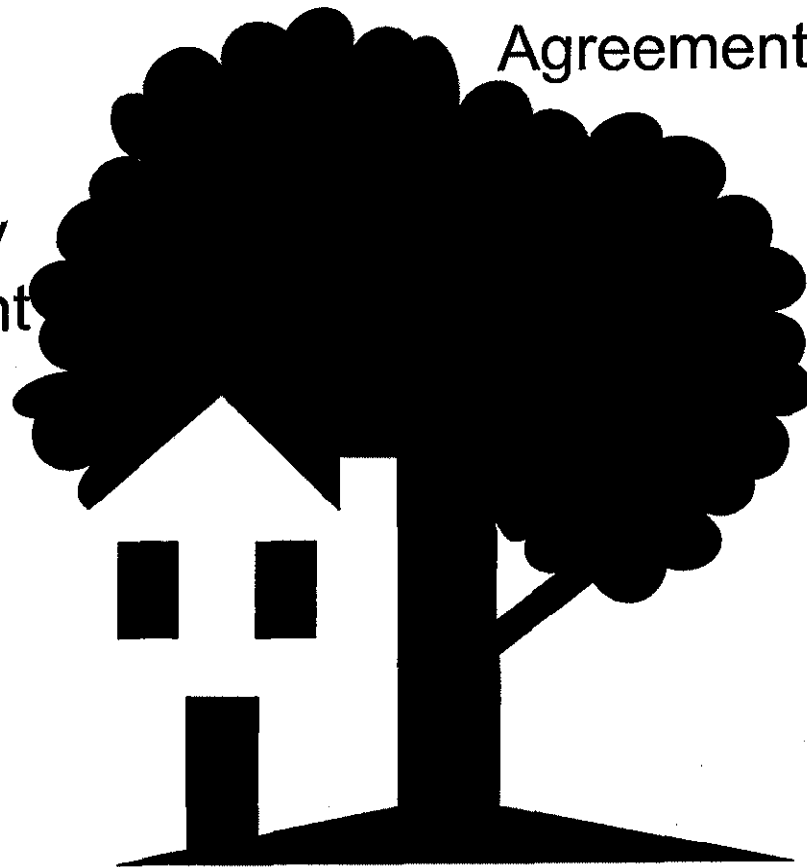
- ★ The TANF Law
- ★ Empirical Evidence
- ★ Anecdotal Evidence
- ★ Effectiveness of the Marriage
Matters Effort

Marriage Matters

Marriage
Matters
Agreements

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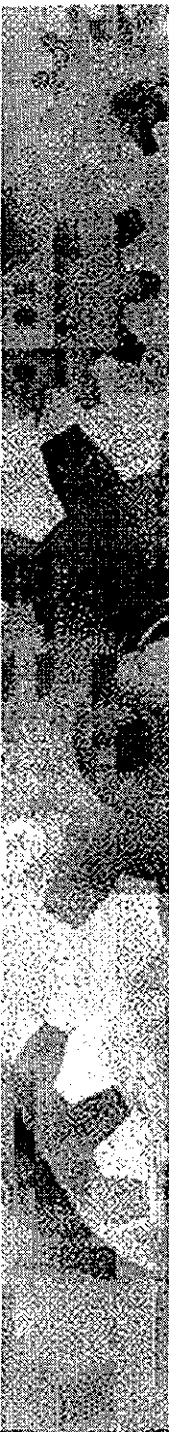
Marriage in Iowa Report
Iowa Cultural Index



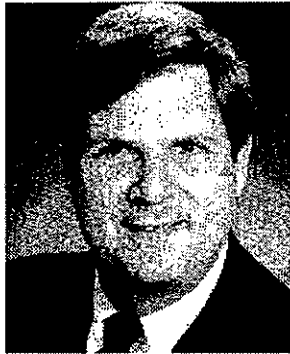
Does it work?

The first city to create a Marriage Matters Agreement*, Modesto, CA, is saving 1,000 marriages a year. Divorce is down over 30%.

*Modesto called theirs a "Community Marriage Policy"



Iowa Department of Public Health reports that, since January 2000, when the Linn Co. MMA was signed and implemented, the Linn Co. divorce rate has fallen by 23.8%.



State of the State Address

January 9, 2001

“We will honor and bring meaning to all those who have lost their lives to senseless violence by fully and comprehensively dealing with abuse in this state. Today, let us pledge not with our words, but our actions to do what is required to protect the most vulnerable among us. Let us not be satisfied with half measures. Let us commit the full measure of devotion to the task of stopping abuse – of stopping abuse in Iowa, now.”

Martin Daly and Margo Wilson

A DARWINIAN VIEW OF

*The Truth
about Cinderella*

OF PARENTAL LOVE

*The Truth about
Cinderella*

A DARWINIAN VIEW OF
PARENTAL LOVE

Martin Daly and Margo Wilson

A child is one hundred times more likely to be abused or killed by a stepparent than by a genetic parent, say two scientists in this startling book. Martin Daly and Margo Wilson show that the mistreatment of stepchildren, long a staple of folktales, has a solid basis in fact. Daly and Wilson apply the perspective of evolutionary psychology to investigate why stepparenthood is different from genetic parenthood and why steprelationships succeed or fail.

MARTIN DALY AND MARGO WILSON are professors of psychology at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario.

Biases of this sort could create the appearance of differential risk where none actually exists. However, there was strong evidence that this was not what was happening in the AHA data. We reasoned that as the severity of child abuse increases, up to the extreme of lethal battering, it should be increasingly unequivocal, so distortions due to biased detection and reportage should diminish. But as we made our abuse criteria increasingly stringent and narrowed the sample down to the most unmistakable cases, the over-representation of stepfamilies did not diminish. Quite the contrary, in fact. By the time we had reduced the cases under consideration from the full file of 87,789 validated maltreatment reports to the 279 fatal child-abuse cases, the estimated rates in step-parent-plus-genetic-parent households had grown to approximately *one hundred times* greater than in two-genetic-parent households.

There could be no doubt that the excess risk in stepfamilies was both genuine and huge. But whether it really had anything to do with step-relationship *per se* was not necessarily resolved. Perhaps living with a step-parent was associated with some other factor of more direct relevance.

One obvious candidate for such a 'confounding' factor is poverty. If step-parenthood is especially prevalent among the poor (which seemed plausible since marital stability was known to be correlated with income) and if the poor also have high rates of detected child abuse (which they do), then differentials of the sort we had observed might be expected even if step-parent and genetic-parent

homes were identically risky within any particular income level. But this initially plausible hypothesis was rejected, for it turned out that the distribution of family incomes in step-parent homes in the United States was virtually identical to that in two-genetic-parent homes. Low-income families were indeed over-represented in the AHA dataset, but the association between abuse and poverty was independent of (was 'orthogonal' to) the association between abuse and step-relationship.

Further research in Canada

We published our US results in a brief journal article in 1980 and in greater detail in 1981, and we turned our attentions elsewhere. But we were never entirely happy with our initial study, for several reasons. The population-at-large estimates were questionable; the 'abuse' criteria were not necessarily consistent from state to state; and the data were inadequate for testing additional 'confound' hypotheses other than poverty. So a few years later, having moved back home to Canada, we decided to conduct a better controlled, smaller-scale, local study of the same issues.

The regional municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth, where we live, is the centre of Canada's steel industry and home to almost half-a-million souls. The local child-protection agencies provided us with information about all cases severe enough to have warranted filing a report with the provincial child-abuse registry, and we surveyed the relevant population-at-large ourselves. About one in

CHILD ABUSE BY MOTHERS' BOYFRIENDS: WHY THE OVERREPRESENTATION?

LESLIE MARGOLIN

Division of Counselor Education, The University of Iowa, Iowa City

Abstract—This study showed that although mothers' boyfriends perform relatively little child care, they are responsible for substantially more child abuse than other nonparental caregivers. Using data drawn from interviews with single mothers and records of child abuse substantiated through child protection investigation, mothers' boyfriends' overrepresentation in child abuse was traced to five conditions: (a) the location of their child care in single parent families; (b) their gender; (c) the absence of genetic relationship between mothers' boyfriends and their partner's children; (d) mothers' boyfriends' perceived illegitimacy as caregivers and family members; and (e) mothers' boyfriends' rivalry with their partner's children. The limitations of these findings and implications for future research are discussed.

Key Words—Child abuse, Mothers' boyfriends, Child care, Family roles.

INTRODUCTION

Most single mothers become involved with boyfriends either through dating or cohabitation (Furstenberg, Brooks-Gunn, & Morgan, 1987; Weiss, 1979). This makes it possible for males who are neither legally nor genetically related to children to assume responsibility for them as caregivers, role models, and disciplinarians. Despite widespread potential for such relationships to occur, little is known about the child care provided by mothers' boyfriends beyond fragmentary evidence that they are overrepresented in cases of extreme child abuse (Blaser, 1985; Krugman, 1985; Margolin, 1990a; Scott, 1973).

The following analysis examines whether mothers' boyfriends are indeed overrepresented in child abuse and why this might be so. Hypotheses addressing this issue were examined with data drawn from interviews with single mothers and records of child abuse substantiated through child protection investigation. The study begins by considering how the social role of "mother's boyfriend" might influence the occurrence of child abuse.

THE ROLE OF "MOTHER'S BOYFRIEND"

According to Hochschild (1979), people's emotional responses arise from perceptions of what they are supposed to feel in specific situations and from their conscious efforts to make their emotions conform to cultural expectations. Enacting the social role of caregiver or child assumes a self-reflexive awareness of the "feeling rules" that define those roles. Thus, to

This study was supported by Harry Frank Guggenheim and University of Iowa Spelman Reckefeller research grants. Received for publication February 10, 1991; final revision received June 24, 1991; accepted August 7, 1991.

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perform as a caregiver, one needs to know when to respond to children with solicitude, patience, affection, anger, and so on. By the same token, children need to know when these responses are justified or unfair, so they can know if they are to feel gratitude or outrage, warmth or apathy, trust or suspicion. This model is a useful starting point for the analysis of child care by mothers' boyfriends because it raises the question: What happens when caregivers and children do not know how they are supposed to feel toward one another? Given the dearth of custom, language, and law surrounding the relationship between the mother's boyfriend and her children, they are few, if any, feeling rules that govern this involvement. Since mothers' boyfriends do not occupy a predefined child care role based on shared expectations and agreed-on obligations, children's encounters with their mother's boyfriend, as well as his encounters with them, represent unfamiliar territory laden with pitfalls and uncertainties.

Not only is it unclear how the mother's boyfriend and children are to act with one another, it is unclear how long the mother's boyfriend will remain in the mother's life and what the rules of their relationship are. An additional source of stress is that the boyfriend's involvement with his partner's family receives little support from a larger community. This is illustrated most dramatically by the absence of any term that a child could use to address his/her mother's boyfriend. As Cherlin (1978, p. 643) observed: "Where no adequate terms exist for an important social role, the institutional support for this role is deficient, and general acceptance of the role as a legitimate pattern of activity is questionable." Moreover, what language does exist to signify the boyfriend's position in his partner's family—"paramour," "lover," "boyfriend"—is stigmatic, connoting illicit or immature behavior.

Assuming there is no cultural mandate to obey a mother's boyfriend, except insofar as most children are taught to obey "grown-ups," the mother's boyfriend commands relatively little respect from his partner's children. Furthermore, if many mothers' boyfriends do not contribute to the financial support of their partner's family, then from a resource perspective (Goode, 1971), the children and their mother do not owe him the kind of deference to which a "provider" is ordinarily entitled. By implication, if mothers' boyfriends lack the capacity to gain children's compliance based on the legitimacy of their status, successful attempts to make children obey them would require more power (i.e., the threat of more physical force) than another caregiver might usually need. Equally important, if mothers' boyfriends believe they lack legitimate authority in their partner's family, they may anticipate that other family members will not obey or respect them. This leaves them defensive, looking for and reacting to affronts that are not there. As Luckenbill (1977, p. 180) showed in his examination of a 5-week-old infant killed by his father for "disobedience," even children too young to behave purposefully can be reconstructed into "opponents" by insecure caregivers.

It is important to consider, however, that children can represent real, as well as imagined, threats to their mother's boyfriend. This is because the two main subsystems comprising families that include a mother's boyfriend (the mother-boyfriend dyad and the mother-child dyad) may be competing for the same scarce resource: the mother's time and energy. Thus, the weekend a mother spends with a boyfriend is often a weekend lost to her children, and vice versa. Mothers who choose to spend time with boyfriends at their children's expense may feel guilty; conversely, children who do not get the attention they want because their mother is involved with a man are likely to become angry at both their mother and her boyfriend. To complicate matters, many children not only perceive their mother's boyfriend as competition for their mother, they perceive him as competition for their genetic father. As DeFrain, Fricke, and Elmen (1987, p. 75) observe, "any new boyfriend coming around can be a threat to Dad's chances of returning home."

To sum up, while not all relationships involving mothers, their boyfriends, and children are violent, this triad appears structurally predisposed for conflict. Mothers' boyfriends have no predefined, culturally legitimate role vis-à-vis their partner's children. Like "marginal men"

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there are no norms to guide their actions in child care and also no norms informing children of their obligations toward them. Support for a mother's boyfriend is further limited by the perception that his relationship to his partner is illicit, indefinite, and extralegal, that his interests in her are often in conflict with her children's, and that children's compliance with their mother's boyfriend could be seen as manifestation of disloyalty to their own father.

Still, the conclusion that a mother's boyfriend's child abuse is wholly attributable to his social role is overly simplistic. As shown in the next section, the demographic variables associated with the mother's boyfriend's child care (e.g., the location of his child care in single parent families, his gender, and the absence of genetic relationship to his partner's children) should also be considered as possible secondary causes of his overrepresentation in child abuse.

DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

Several characteristics of single parent families have a well-documented relationship to child abuse. The most obvious of these characteristics is poverty. Single parent families are much poorer than others, and child abuse rates appear higher among the poor (Pelton, 1978; Steinberg, Catalano, & Dooley, 1981). Thus, mothers' boyfriends' overrepresentation in child abuse may be a sequelae of the economically depressed environment in which their child care is conducted.

It is also possible that mothers' boyfriends commit more than their share of child abuse because they are male. In this regard, a number of investigators have observed that although males usually perform little child care relative to females, they commit at least as much child abuse (Breines & Gordon, 1983; Chesler, 1978, 1986; Finkelhor, 1983). These differences in children's risk with male and female caregivers have been traced to gender differences in socialization (Margolin, 1990b; Russell, 1975, 1984): Young males not only devote little time to learning and rehearsing child care roles (Bernard, 1975, pp. 220-223; Fasteau, 1976; Fein, 1977), they have relatively little exposure to child care providers who could serve as role models (Chodorow, 1978). As a result, males can be expected to have less education and experience in normal child development and behavior. Also, values such as toughness, dominance, and competitiveness, the regular themes of young boys' play (Pitcher & Schultz, 1983), appear singularly consistent with learning aggressive response styles. By contrast, the values emphasized in young girls' play—cooperation, intimacy, the verbalization of feelings—appear consistent with the development of nurturant skills (cf. Weitzman, 1984).

Finally, mothers' boyfriends may be overrepresented in child abuse because they are not genetically related to the children in their care. Sociobiological theorists (Daly & Wilson, 1980, 1988) argue that all living things are impelled by an overwhelming need to survive, not simply at a personal level, but at a genetic level. From this perspective, a caregiver's level of protection and solicitude toward a child is directly proportional to the degree that the caregiver and child share the same genetic heritage. The study of animals has yielded abundant support of this hypothesis (e.g., a nanny goat who is nursing will attack an unrelated kid who tries to suckle; a nursing gull will devour a strange chick; a male primate will kill offspring from his mate that are not his own [Hrdy, 1979; Wilson & Daly, 1987]). Evidence that stepchildren have an elevated risk of physical abuse (Fergusson, Fleming, & O'Neill, 1972; Fergusson, Horwood, & Shannon, 1984; Lightcap, Kurland, & Burgess, 1982; Wilson & Daly, 1987) also supports the hypothesis that genetic relatives are more solicitous. Nonetheless, the paucity of research showing that children in foster, adoptive, and day care settings experience elevated risk leaves the question of whether the higher rates of physical abuse sustained by stepchildren results from the absence of genetic relationship or from the social structures

associated with stepfamilies. Similarly, it is unclear whether mothers' boyfriends commit more than their share of abuse because they are not related to their partner's children or because of the social pressures specific to being a "mother's boyfriend." This issue is examined in the data analysis.

METHODS

To estimate whether mothers' boyfriends are "overrepresented" in child abuse, it is necessary to specify their normal or expected levels of child abuse. This can be done by assuming that, other things being equal, different nonparental caregivers perform a level of child abuse that is proportional to their duration of responsibility for children (Margolin, 1990b). Thus, if mothers' boyfriends perform 10% of the child care in single parent homes, then their expected share of child abuse in those homes should be about 10%. Findings that are inconsistent with these predictions can be used to estimate the degree of mothers' boyfriends' overrepresentation in child abuse. The Pearson chi-square is the statistical technique used to determine the "goodness of fit" between mothers' boyfriends' observed and expected levels of child abuse (Hays, 1988, pp. 768-773).

To establish baselines of normal child care, interviews were conducted with mothers who gave birth between May 1984 and April 1990. These mothers were identified in two ways: 882 were identified from birth certificates randomly selected from the courthouse records of a large Iowa county (population 167,000) and 158 were identified from birth announcements made in the newspaper which serves this county. The latter method was used to locate mothers who gave birth out-of-wedlock since records of these births are sealed. Mothers whose telephone numbers were unpublished were sent a questionnaire by mail. Interviews began in July 1989 and were distributed equally over a 12-month period. Of the 1,040 mothers contacted, 982 agreed to participate, yielding a response rate of 94%.

Among the 159 single mothers who were identified, 108 had never been married, and 51 had been either divorced, separated, or widowed. Twenty mothers or 12.6% of all single mothers in the sample reported living with a boyfriend who was not their children's father. Single mothers were conspicuously poorer than the other mothers in the survey. Half ($n = 79$) earned less than \$5,000 per year and a third ($n = 53$) earned between \$5,000 and \$15,000 per year. By contrast, the median family income for married mothers was between \$35,000 and \$45,000. Only six out of 823 married mothers said their family income was less than \$5,000 per year. Single mothers had 1.78 children, compared to 2.17 children for married mothers. Single mothers were also significantly younger than married mothers, 25.7 years versus 30.1 years, respectively.

The single mothers who participated in the survey reported using 210 nonparental caregivers during the week prior to their interview. The hours that nonparents had child care responsibility were specified for each of the previous 7 days. Although respondents were identified from birth certificates and birth announcements of children born during the last 6 years, child care data was collected on all of the respondents' children, including those above the age of 6 years old.

Table 1 compares the hours that mothers' boyfriends and other nonparents performed child care. These values were derived by multiplying the number of children each caregiver watched by the length of time child care lasted. The percentages in the column at the extreme right were used to establish baselines of expected child abuse.

To determine the frequency of mothers' boyfriends' child abuse, mothers were asked if one of their children had ever been harmed by someone who had temporary child care responsibility for them. If a mother answered yes, she was asked to describe the circumstances surrounding the harmful episode, as well as to specify whether the caregiver was a boyfriend or a

Table 1. Child Care by Nonparents

Caregiver	N	Mean Hours	Total Hours	% of Child Care
Nonrelative	98	24.67	2417.59	52.75
Grandparent	75	21.21	1590.47	34.70
Aunt/Uncle	23	16.75	385.26	8.41
Sibling	5	19.40	97.00	2.12
Mother's Boyfriend	7	11.50	80.5	1.75
Other	2	6.25	12.5	0.27
Totals	210	21.83	4583.32	100.00

different type of caregiver. Among all mothers in the sample ($N = 982$), 19 incidents of physical abuse were attributed to a nonparent who had temporary child care responsibility. Only one of these caregivers was a mother's boyfriend. Since no meaningful analysis can be conducted with only one case, cases of physical abuse by boyfriends drawn from child protection investigations in Iowa were utilized.

For the years 1985 and 1986, the Iowa Department of Human Services substantiated 539 cases of physical abuse committed by nonparents. In 290 of these cases, the mother's boyfriend was responsible for the abuse. Of the cases involving mothers' boyfriends, 231 contained descriptions of the interactions between the child and boyfriend immediately preceding the abusive episode and 104 documented the three-way interactions between the mother, her boyfriend, and her children.

The criterion for substantiating physical abuse was that there was a physical injury intentionally inflicted on the child which lasted longer than 24 hours. Since a "case" of child abuse represented each investigation conducted for each child, it was possible for the same caregiver to be responsible for more than one case of abuse, and the same child to be the victim more than once. In total, 272 children were abused by 240 mothers' boyfriends.

FINDINGS

Consistent with the hypothesis that child care in single-parent homes is associated with child abuse, 454 cases or 84% of the observed nonparental abuse occurred in single-parent families. Most of this abuse was committed by mothers' boyfriends (64%). Nonrelatives such as day care providers and adolescent babysitters were a distant second with 15%, followed by aunts and uncles (7%), grandparents (7%), siblings (4%), and other relatives (4%).

To specify the degree of mothers' boyfriends' overrepresentation in child abuse in single-parent families, their level of child care responsibility needs to be compared to their level of child abuse responsibility. However, before the comparison can be made, it should be observed that most of the child abuse by nonparents in single-parent families ($n = 454$) did not occur when the nonparents had temporary child care responsibility. In only 186 cases (41% of the child abuse by nonparents in single parent families) was the abuser taking care of a child younger than 10 years old while the custodial mother was absent. Table 2 shows that when the comparison of nonparental abuse is limited to caregivers who had temporary responsibility for children under 10 years old, mothers' boyfriends continued to be the predominant perpetrators. Although mothers' boyfriends performed only 1.75% of nonparental child care (see Table 1), they were responsible for about half the child abuse committed by nonparents in caregiving roles. As shown in Table 2, if mothers' boyfriends committed a volume of child abuse proportional to their share of child care in single-parent families, they would have abused only three children, not 89.

Table 2. Children's Risk of Abuse by Nonparental Caregivers

Caregiver	Observed Abuse	Expected Abuse	Relative Risk Observed/Expected
Mother's Boyfriend	89	3.26	27.30
Nonrelative	54	98.12	0.55
Grandparent	17	64.54	0.26
Aunt/Uncle	17	15.64	1.09
Sibling	8	3.94	2.03
Other	1	0.50	2.00

Note. Cases of abuse were limited to caregivers who had temporary responsibility for children younger than 10 years old in the parent's absence.

To compare children's risk with mothers' boyfriends against their risk with other nonparental caregivers in single-parent families, the number of physical abuse cases attributed to nonparental caregivers was divided by the number they were expected to commit under the hypothesis that child abuse varies according to the time caregivers spend with children. The results showed that mothers' boyfriends committed 27 times more child abuse than their hours in child care would lead us to predict. At the other extreme, grandparents and nonrelatives committed only a fraction of the abuse which was expected, based on their participation in child care. Since these differences were highly significant we conclude that a young child left alone with a mother's boyfriend experiences substantially elevated risk of physical abuse.

Still, it might be precipitate to say that mothers' boyfriends imperil children because they are "mothers' boyfriends" (that is, occupy a specific family status). Their overrepresentation in child abuse could be an incidental correlate of another variable that is the true source of children's elevated risk. It is possible, for example, that since all mothers' boyfriends are male, and other nonparental caregivers are usually female, relatively high rates of child abuse may result from the boyfriends' gender rather than from their being the romantic partner of a single mother. This hypothesis was explored by estimating the proportion of child care performed by male caregivers who were not mothers' boyfriends (9.91%) and comparing that to the proportion of child abuse committed by these same categories of male caregivers (42%). As shown in Table 3, a highly significant relationship does exist between caregiver gender and child abuse which is independent of mothers' boyfriends' contribution.

Be this as it may, gender cannot explain all of mothers' boyfriends' overrepresentation in child abuse. When it is considered that boyfriends committed 69% of the child abuse attributed to male caregivers in single-parent homes, yet performed only 16.37% of males' child care, it becomes clear that mothers' boyfriends have substantially higher rates of child abuse than other male nonparental caregivers (see Table 4).

Sociobiologists suggest another possible confound: Perhaps children left in the care of their

Table 3. Caregiver Gender as a Risk Factor

Caregiver Gender	Observed Abuse	Expected Abuse	Relative Risk Observed/Expected
Females	56	86.49	0.65
Males	40	9.51	4.21

Note. This table shows the distribution of child abuse by caregivers other than mothers' boyfriends who had temporary responsibility for children younger than 10 years old in the parent's absence. One case of abuse was not counted because the caregiver's gender was not known.

Table 4. Comparing Boyfriends' Child Abuse to That of Other Male Caregivers

Caregiver	Observed Abuse	Expected Abuse	Relative Risk Observed/Expected
Mothers' Boyfriends	89	21.11	4.216 $\chi^2 = 261.06$
Other Males	40	107.89	0.371 $df = 1, p < .0001$

Note. This table shows the distribution of child abuse by male caregivers who had temporary responsibility for children younger than 10 years old in the parent's absence.

mothers' boyfriends experience elevated risk because they are not genetically related to these caregivers. Although it was already shown that nonrelatives committed less child abuse than expected (see Table 2), this may have been due to that fact that most nonrelated caregivers are female. Thus, to assess the role that genetic relationship plays in child abuse apart from caregiver gender and apart from mothers' boyfriends' family status, the observed and expected rates of child abuse were examined for male and female caregivers separately, exclusive of mothers' boyfriends' contribution. As shown in Table 5, male nonrelatives were significantly more abusive than male relatives. These differences did not appear to reflect differences in abusers' ages: Among related and nonrelated males, a comparably small portion of the abuse was attributed to youths 20 years old or younger, 28% and 18%, respectively. Still, however, caregiver gender and genetic relatedness did not account for all of mothers' boyfriends' overrepresentation in child abuse. Table 6 shows that when boyfriends' observed and expected levels of child abuse are compared to those of other male nonrelatives, boyfriends' child abuse rates continue to be significantly higher.

This leaves the question of how mothers' boyfriends' family status might result in children's elevated risk. To address this issue, we examine how a mother's boyfriend's lack of legitimate authority could explain why he uses more physical coercion than other caregivers.

If mothers' boyfriends are not perceived as legitimate child care providers either by themselves, their partner's children, or society as a whole, their efforts to control their partner's children may be seen as unjust. This perception can lead to violence in two ways. First, the children might disobey a mother's boyfriend more often than they would a "legitimate" caregiver. Second, anticipating the children's perception of him as illegitimate, the mother's boyfriend may believe her children will not listen to him unless force is threatened or used. In support of this formulation, 15 instances of violence were identified which were preceded either by children making explicit reference to a mother's boyfriend's illegitimacy or by a boyfriend indicating that the children referred to him this way. One 4-year-old, for example, responded to an order from his mother's boyfriend by saying that he does not have to listen to

Table 5. Genetic Relationship as a Risk Factor, Controlling for Gender

Caregivers	Observed Abuse	Expected Abuse	Relative Risk Observed/Expected
Male			
Nonrelatives	22	14.16	1.55 $\chi^2 = 6.72$
Relatives	18	25.84	0.70 $df = 1, p < .01$
Female			
Nonrelatives	31	28.78	1.08 $\chi^2 = .35$
Relatives	25	27.22	0.92 $df = 1, p > .05$

Note. This table shows the distribution of child abuse by caregivers other than mothers' boyfriends who had temporary responsibility for children younger than 10 years old in the parent's absence.

Table 6. Comparing Boyfriends' Child Abuse to That of Other Nonrelated Males

Caregiver	Observed Abuse	Expected Abuse	Relative Risk Observed/Expected
Mothers' Boyfriends	89	39.53	2.25 $\chi^2 = 96.15$
Other Male Nonrelatives	22	71.47	0.31 $df = 1, p < .0001$

Note. This table shows the distribution of child abuse by nonrelated male caregivers who had temporary responsibility for children younger than 10 years old in the parent's absence.

him "because you're not my real dad." Similarly, when a 12-year-old was told by her mother's boyfriend to put her puppy outside, she replied, "Why don't you go outside instead of the pup because you're not the boss. Mom pays the bills." In total, 45 cases (20% of all child abuse by mothers' boyfriends) were identified in which the child either disobeyed an order from a mother's boyfriend or was perceived as disobedient. By contrast, Kadushin and Martin (1981) found that only 4% of child abuse by parents was preceded by the child disobeying his/her parent's order.

To address the hypothesis that the division of the family into competing subsystems resulted in child abuse, we examined the mother-boyfriend and mother-child coalitions formed immediately prior to the abusive episode. Two broad patterns of coalition formation were identified. Either the boyfriend acted as if the mother and her children were aligned against him or the mother and her boyfriend acted as if they were in an alliance against the children. In the former case, 17 episodes of child abuse occurred in which children sided with their mother when she was in an argument with her boyfriend. This represented 16% of those cases in which the three-way interaction between the mother, her boyfriend, and her children was documented ($n = 104$). There were seven other violent episodes in which mothers sided with their children when their boyfriends and children were in conflict. Finally, there were 12 cases in which a boyfriend became violent toward his partner's children, not because the mother and her children had actually sided against him, but because the mother and her children were perceived to be on the same side. For example, one boyfriend turned away from his girlfriend after a disagreement, approached her 9-month-old infant, slapped the infant across the face, walked back to his girlfriend and said, "That's for you, bitch."

The coalition that most commonly preceded an abusive episode occurred when the child was quarreling with his/her mother. Here, the boyfriend interceded on the mother's behalf by striking her child ($n = 28$). These boyfriends said they became violent because they could not tolerate seeing children "take advantage" of their mother or "mouth off" to her. The second most common coalition between the mother and her boyfriend resulting in the boyfriend's violent outburst involved the child committing an infraction and the mother and her boyfriend deciding together that the child should be disciplined by the boyfriend ($n = 27$). The rationale most commonly used for placing the boyfriend in this position was that he was physically stronger. Thus, for example, one boyfriend explained that he does the discipline "because the kids are more intimidated by me than by their mother."

DISCUSSION

This study showed that although mothers' boyfriends perform comparatively little child care, they are responsible for more child abuse than any other nonparental caregivers. Part of their overrepresentation in child abuse was explained by the location of their child care:

Nonparents who took care of children in single-parent homes had higher rates of child abuse. Another part of their overrepresentation was explained by their gender: Males were found to be more abusive to females. Still another part of their child abuse was explained by the absence of genetic relationship to their partner's children: Male nonrelatives were significantly more abusive than other males. However, the finding that mothers' boyfriends performed only 36% of nonrelated males' child care in single-parent homes, yet committed 80% of nonrelated males' child abuse, indicated that the location of child care in single-parent families, caregiver gender, and genetic relationship were only partial explanations of children's elevated risk.

To explore other possible causes of mothers' boyfriends' child abuse, the interactional sequences preceding the abusive episode were examined. It was found that children's disobedience was a common precursor to violence by mothers' boyfriends. This was consistent with the formulation that mothers' boyfriends used more physical coercion than other caregivers because their social role lacks legitimate authority. Also, examination of the three-way interactions between the mother, her boyfriend, and children immediately prior to the abusive episode revealed an association between coalition formation and the boyfriend's violent outburst: Before assaulting the child, the boyfriend either sided with the mother against the child or he perceived the mother and child to be against him. This suggested that his violence could be explained, at least in part, by the real or perceived conflicting interests of the mother-child and mother-boyfriend dyads.

Research into stepfamilies shows that problems resulting from coalition formation (Perkins & Kahan, 1979) and doubts about caregiver legitimacy (Cherlin, 1978; Giles-Sims, 1984; Johnson, 1980) are not limited to families with mothers' boyfriends. These processes probably occur on a continuum, with families with mothers' boyfriends at one extreme, stepfamilies in the middle, and families with both genetic parents at the other extreme. A promising area for future research might be to compare these family types along these dimensions. For example, it would be interesting to observe whether an order from a mother's boyfriend receives less compliance and social support than a comparable order from a step- or genetic father. An answer to this question would not only illustrate differences between mothers' boyfriends, step-, and genetic fathers, it would offer the possibility of congruent validity with the model advanced here.

Other questions that might fruitfully be explored in future research include: Are abusive boyfriends more likely to be unemployed than nonabusive boyfriends? Is child abuse by boyfriends associated with their income, past history of other interpersonal violence, and/or history of substance abuse problems? Does single parenthood have an independent effect on boyfriends' abuse apart from the single mothers' economic status? Finally, how important is absence of genetic relatedness versus the absence of a long shared history with the child as a predictor of boyfriends' abuse?

In conclusion, some comment should be made on the limitations of this analysis. Since only one single mother who participated in the child care survey reported that her boyfriend abused her child, abuse cases drawn from child protection investigation had to be utilized. This probably resulted in some artificial inflation of mothers' boyfriends' child abuse rates. If mothers' boyfriends are indeed considered illegitimate members of single-parent families, abusive boyfriends may get reported to child protection investigators more often than other abusive caregivers. Moreover, social agencies may be more prompt in checking up on mothers' boyfriends and may require less evidence before substantiating their child abuse. As a result of these biases, the picture revealed in this analysis should not be treated as exact, but rather, as a broad outline of the issues relevant to explaining why mothers' boyfriends appear so often in child abuse reports. Although the finding that children experience elevated risk

...mothers' boyfriends is probably not seriously distorted, further research is needed to fully explore the complex social and psychological processes that produce this risk.

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Vitamin M

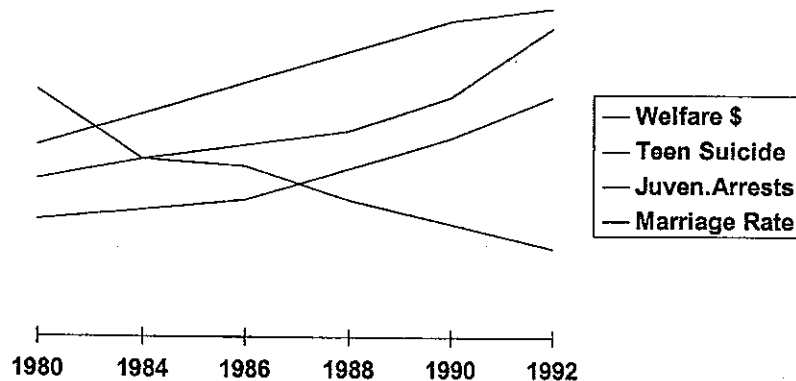
Suppose I told you about a new wonder drug. This drug, if used consistently, could:

- improve your enjoyment of life
- slash your risk of living in poverty
- increase your satisfaction with your sex life
- help your children stay in school and off drugs, and improve their schoolwork
- reduce your chance of needing nursing home care as you grow older
- extend your life expectancy by several years

You might accuse me of selling snake oil, and you would correctly demand some evidence to back up these claims. But you might be curious enough to consider them. You might want to know where to buy stock in the company!

Well, such a product exists, and the evidence for its benefits is substantial. But it is not a drug. It is the institution of marriage.

The Rise of Social Problems



The last 30 years in America have seen increases in a number of social problems and their costs.

- illegitimacy
- poverty rates and welfare spending
- health care costs
- drug use
- violence in the home and in the streets
- prison populations

At the same time there has been a general decline in the prevalence and the permanence of marriage. This is not a coincidence.

Of course the causes of social programs are complex. I am not saying that a decline in marriage is the sole--or even the major--reason for growing social problems. But to deny that it has an influence is to strain credibility as severely as the tobacco company executive who steadfastly refutes any link between cigarette smoking and lung cancer. The evidence is just too strong.

refs: Family in America 9:9 (Sep 95), 9:7 (Jul 95), & 9:5 (May 95) from Statistical Abstract of the U.S. 1994.

Benefits of Marriage Repeatedly Shown

- To Husband & Wife
- To Children
- To the Community & Society

In the next few minutes, I would like to present to you some of the research data that highlights the benefits of marriage, not only to the married couple but also to their children and to the society in which they live.

Some of the information here has been simplified or generalized for the sake of the presentation. Even so the conclusions shown are supported by the data.

Why are Married Families Different?

Selection bias

vs

Positive effects of marriage

Studies that show a benefit to marriage and a stable family are sometimes criticized as showing *selection bias*. The contention is that healthy, mature, well adjusted individuals are more likely to form stable marriages and families--and this is true.

But this does not mean that differences between the married and the unmarried can be explained away by differences in the individuals involved.

On the contrary, studies that have looked at this factor nearly always show a positive influence of marriage even after adjusting for individual differences such as personality traits, health status, education, and economic resources.

The alternative explanation is to admit that marriage provides actual benefits to the husband and wife: companionship, emotional support, and a sharing and buffering of the stresses of life.

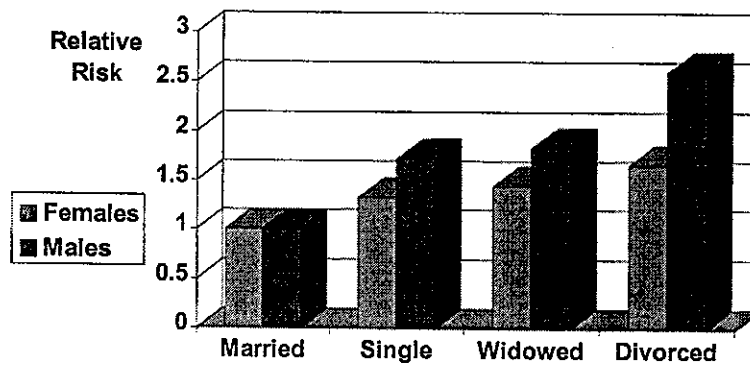
ref: Coombs RH: Marital status and personal well-being: a literature review. Family Relations 40:97-102 (1991).

Benefits to Husband and Wife

- Physical Health
- Mental Health
- Economic Status

Let's look at some of the ways in which couples benefit from being married.

Marital Status & Mortality Risk



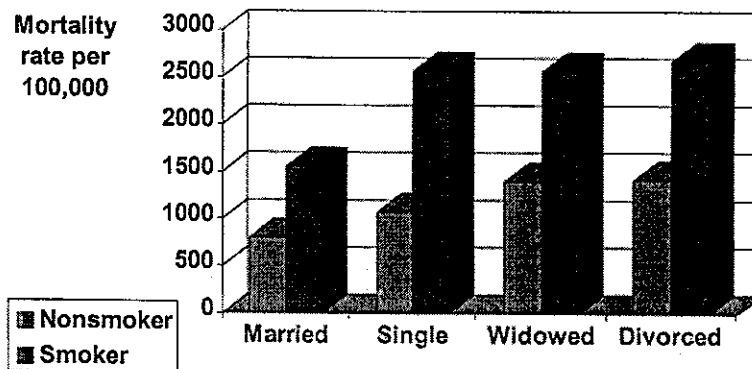
Married individuals have lower rates of illness and death compared to individuals who are single, widowed, or divorced. The differences are more pronounced for men than for women.

In the United States in 1980, the average married woman was expected to live two years longer than her single counterpart, the average married man could expect to live five years longer than a single man. The differences for divorced individuals were even greater.

This difference in mortality is quite consistent across nations and cultures, although the size of the difference varies.

ref: Goldman and Hu: Excess mortality among the unmarried: a case study of Japan. Soc.Sci.Med. 36(4):533-546, 1993.

Male Mortality Risk

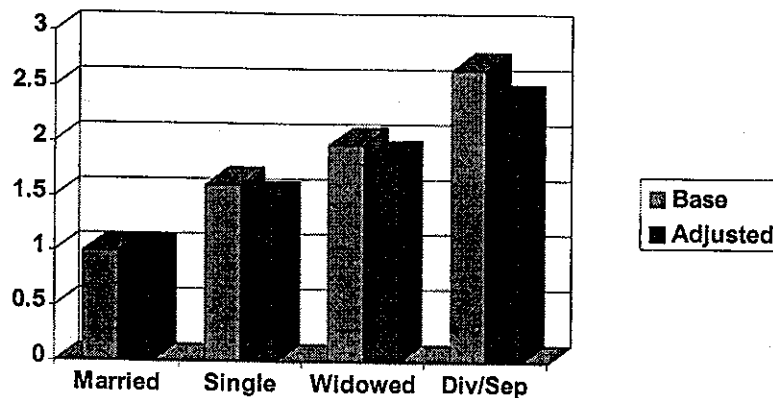


We know smoking is also a health risk. How does it compare?

This chart compares mortality rates for men ages 40 to 69 based on marital status and smoking status. The mortality rate for divorced nonsmokers is about the same as for married men who smoke one pack of cigarettes a day.

ref: Morowitz HJ: Hiding in the Hammond report. Hospital Practice, Aug 1975, p.39.
Cited in Stanton G: More than a piece of paper.

Male Risk of Suicide



This slide shows how the risk of suicide for U.S. males varies by marital status. For divorced males the risk is over twice as high as for married males.

The adjusted figures show that large differences remain after allowing for other factors such as age, education, occupation, and income.

Risk of suicide is also increased for males living alone compared to those who live with others. For the divorced and separated group, however, the risk seen here is significantly higher than what could be explained on that basis.

ref: Kposowa AJ, Breault KD, Singh GK. White male suicide in the United States: a multivariate individual-level analysis. *Social Forces* 74(1):315-323, Sept 1995.

Need for Nursing Home Care

- Married persons need less institutional care
- Enjoy better health
- Spouse or adult children can serve as caregivers

Married persons are less likely to need nursing home care than unmarried individuals.

This is only partly due to the married enjoying better health.

Even with similar degrees of physical disability, married people are less likely to need institutional care because the spouse or adult children can provide care in the home.

ref: The Family in America 9:3 (March 95).

Happiness & Well-Being



higher

Married

Single

Widowed

lower

Divorced



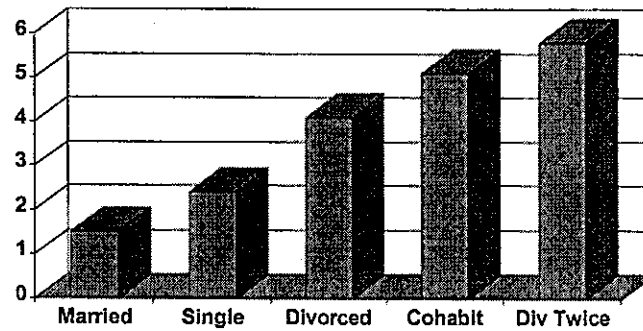
Separated

In multiple measures of general well-being, including self-reported happiness, married individuals consistently score higher than other groups.

ref: Stanton G: Only a piece of paper?, pp 9-10.

Mental Health

Annual Rate of Depression



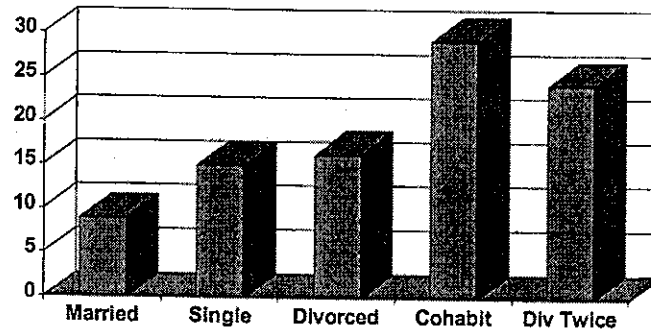
Depression is in some ways a negative indicator of well-being. Not surprisingly, married individuals have less depression overall than any other category.

The same general trend holds for schizophrenia and other psychiatric illnesses.

ref: Stanton, G: More than a piece of paper.

Mental Health

Lifetime Risk of Alcoholism



Here is comparable information on rates of alcoholism.

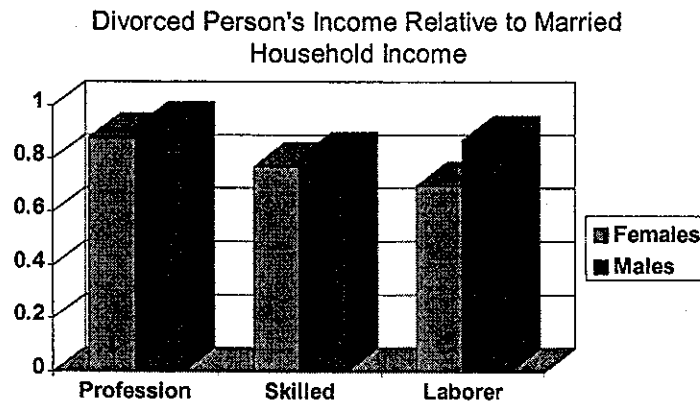
ref: Bromet & Moos: Sex and marital status in relation to the characteristics of alcoholics. J. of Studies on Alcohol, 37:1302-1312. Cited in Stanton G: More than a piece of paper.

Sex and the Married Person

- In 1992 national survey, married people reported being the most physically and emotionally satisfied with their sex lives.
- Unmarried, non-cohabiting individuals reported the lowest satisfaction.
- Satisfaction decreased in those with more sexual partners.

ref: Michael, RT, et al. Sex in America: a definitive survey. Boston, Little Brown & Co, 1994, pp 124-125.

Divorce and Household Income



Dividing up the family also dilutes the family income. Both women and men typically face a drop in income after divorce. For women the average drop is 22 percent, for men only 10 percent. Other studies show even greater loss of income after divorce.

And of course the single mother is also at a serious economic disadvantage compared to the married mother.

ref: The Family in America 9:3 (March 95).

What about “Living Together”?

- Increasingly common
- Short term relationships
- High risk of eventual divorce

What about cohabitation? Is it a suitable alternative to marriage? Cohabitation among young adults has increased from about 2 percent in the middle of the twentieth century to as much as forty percent today. Cohabitation has been seen as a “trial marriage” where the partners could come to know each other and themselves better before marriage, therefore forming sounder relationships

Unfortunately, experience does not support these supposed benefits.

Most cohabitations last less than two years. If the cohabiting couple choose to marry, their risk of a subsequent divorce is 50 to 100% higher than if they had married without cohabiting. If they part ways in favor of marrying other partners, their divorce risk is equally high in those marriages.

ref: The Family in America 8:1 (Jan 1994). citing: Schoen R, Weinick RM: Partner choice in marriages and cohabitations. J.of Marriage and the Family 55:408-414 (1993).

What about "Living Together"?

- Much higher partner abuse and child abuse
- Alcohol and drug problems
- More depression and dissatisfaction

Domestic abuse of adults and children is far more common in

cohabiting relationships than in marriage.

Alcohol and drug abuse are more frequent.

Depression and dissatisfaction with life are higher.

Often the cohabiting individual finds that he has avoided the advantages of marriage without escaping the problems associated with divorce. The so called "trial marriage" is more tribulation than trial.

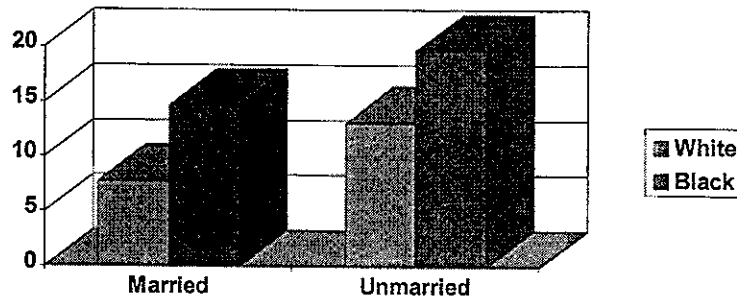
ref: The Family in America 7:1 (Jan 1993). citing: Margolin L, Child abuse by mother's boyfriends: why the overrepresentation? Child Abuse and Neglect 16:541-552 (1992).
ref: Bromet & Moos: Sex and marital status in relation to the characteristics of alcoholics. J. of Studies on Alcohol, 37:1302-1312. Cited in Stanton G: More than a piece of paper.

Benefits to Children

Beyond the benefits to the husband and wife, marriage contributes to the health and happiness of the children also.

Benefits to Children

Infant Mortality per 1000 births



The advantages of having married parents begin early in life. Infants born to married women have lower mortality rates.

The trend remains even after correcting for factors such as age, education, and access to prenatal care. The infant of the married eighth-grade graduate has a lower mortality risk than the infant of the unmarried college graduate.

Infants of married mothers also have lower rates of Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (SIDS).

ref: Christensen BJ: Out of sync: healthy knowledge, unhealthy behavior. The Family in America 7:5 (May 1993).

Benefits to Children

- Better childhood development
- Higher literacy rates
- Better grades

Children of intact marriages are less likely to have childhood developmental problems. As a risk factor for developmental problems, illegitimacy is as important as poverty and more predictive than young maternal age, absence of prenatal care, or chronic illness in the mother.

Children are more likely to grow up functionally literate if their parents are married. This difference is especially clear for children of teen mothers.

Children who experience their parents' divorce typically earn lower grades and have lower GPA's.

ref: The Family in America 8:11, Nov 1993. citing: Kirby RS: Identifying at-risk children for early intervention services: lessons from the infant health and development program. J.Pediatrics 122:680-686 (1993).

ref: The Family in America 8:11, Nov 1993. citing: Baydar N, Brooks-Gunn J, Furstenberg FF: Early warning signs of functional illiteracy: predictions in childhood and adolescence. Child Development 64:815-829 (1993).

ref: The Family in America 7:2 (Feb 1992). citing: Brubeck D, Beer J: Depression, self-esteem, suicide ideation, death anxiety, and GPA in high school students of divorced and nondivorced parents. Psychological Reports 71:755-763 (1992).

Benefits to Children

- Higher self-esteem
- Less depression
- Lower rates of delinquency
- Lower rates of drug addiction

Children whose parents are married score higher on measures of self-esteem and have lower rates of depression as adolescents.

Children of two-parent households are less likely to become juvenile delinquents, even those children who drop out of school.

Growing up without a father is a major risk for substance abuse and other manifestations of emotional distress.

ref: The Family in America 7:2 (Feb 1992). citing: Brubeck D, Beer J: Depression, self-esteem, suicide ideation, death anxiety, and GPA in high school students of divorced and nondivorced parents. Psychological Reports 71:755-763 (1992).

ref: The Family in America 8:11, Nov 1993. citing: Figueira-McDonough J: Residence, dropping out, and delinquency rates. Deviant Behavior 14:109-132 (1993).

ref: The Family in America 8:11, Nov 1993. citing: Bekir P, et.al.: Role reversals in families of substance misusers: a transgenerational phenomenon. Internat.J.of the Addictions 28:13-630 (1993).

Educational Attainment

- Children of intact families are more likely to finish high school
- Step families do no better here than single-parent or divorced families
- Family breakup can undo the positive effects of better-educated parents

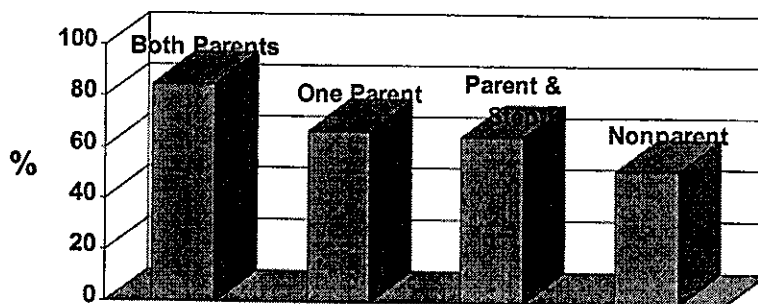
Children in single-parent or broken families, and in step-families, drop out of school at a higher rate than children living with both parents.

In general, children of college-educated parents do better in school and graduate at higher rates than children of high-school graduates. If the parents are divorced or never married, the family disruption can more than offset this educational advantage.

ref: The Family in America 8:6, June 1994. citing: Wojtkiewicz RA: Simplicity and complexity in the effects of parental structure on high school graduation. Demography 30:701-715, 1993.

Educational Achievement

High School graduation in teens who live with:

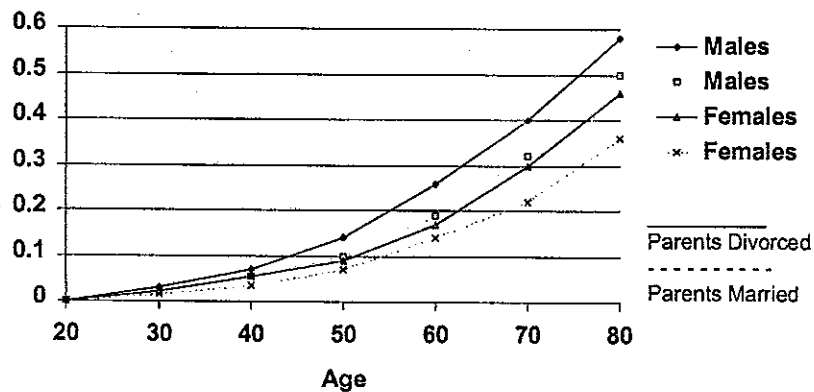


Teenagers in intact families are more likely to graduate from high school, irrespective of other factors such as household income level. Remarriage and step-parenting do not seem to improve graduation rates after divorce.

ref: The Family in America 7:1 (Jan 1993). citing: Sandefur GD, McLanahan S, Wojtkiewicz RA: The effects of parental marital status during adolescence on high school graduation. Social Forces 71:103-121 (1992).

Children's Life Expectancy

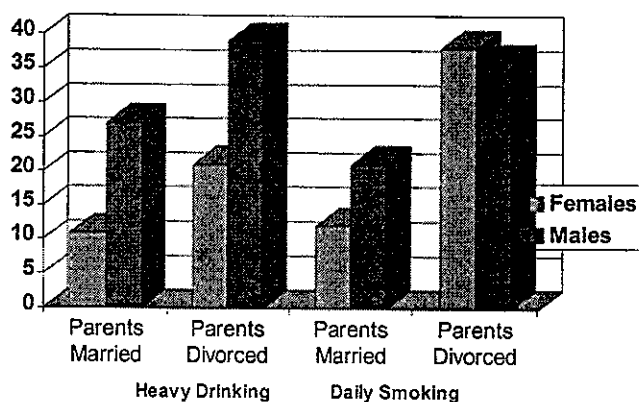
Probability of death by a given age



Children of divorced parents are affected by the divorce in ways that can be persistent. For twenty-year olds, life expectancy is less if their parents are divorced.

ref: The Family in America 9:12 (Dec 1995). citing: Schwartz JE, et. al: Sociodemographic and psychosocial factors in childhood as predictors of adult mortality. Am. J. Public Health 85:1237-1245 (1995).

Children's Health Habits



One of the reasons children of divorced parents have higher mortality rates is a greater tendency to unhealthy habits. Use of alcohol and tobacco is shown here, but the pattern also applies to other drugs.

ref: The Family in America 6:11 (Nov 92)

Parent-Adult Child Relationship

- 1/4 less contact with mother
- 1/2 less contact with father
- Decline in quality of relationships

When divorce occurs after the children have grown up and left home it still has a lasting effect on relationships. Adult children who grew up in intact families, but whose parents later divorced, had less contact with either parent and had lower opinions of their relationships to their parents. Not surprisingly, then, the children had less interest in supporting their aging parents financially.

The deterioration of family relationships also provides grandchildren less contact with their grandparents. Often family traditions are lost or abandoned.

ref: The Family in America 9:6 (Jun 1995).

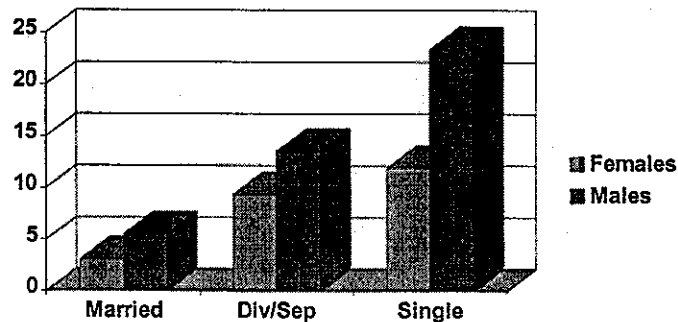
ref: The Family in America 7:4 (Apr 1993). citing: Pett MA, Long N, Gander A: Late-life divorce: its impact on family rituals. J.of Family Issues 13:526-552 (1992).

Benefits to Society

What about those individuals outside the family? Does society in general benefit when couples get married and stay married? When children are raised by two married parents?

Victims of Violence: Risk of Being Assaulted

Yearly rate per 1000

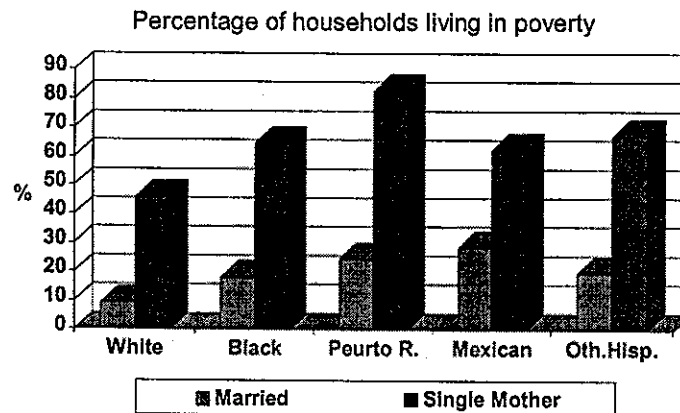


Violence and crime reduce our personal security and cost society financially. Married individuals are relatively safer from violence.

While we rightly decry domestic violence, we tend to overlook that marriage is a protective factor. The stereotype of the "battered wife" should really be called the "battered girlfriend." Of all the categories, the married woman is least likely to be assaulted by the man in her life.

ref: Stanton, G. Guess what...God knows best. Focus on the Family, Aug 1995, p. 3f.

The Anti-poverty Factor



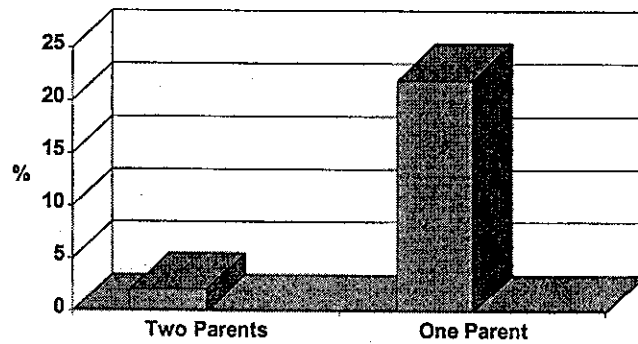
Marriage is the most successful anti-poverty program. Even if the man of the house is unemployed, the family is less likely to be poor than if there is no man of the house.

Poverty in America is disproportionately a female problem. This disproportion would largely disappear if not for the large numbers of families headed by single mothers.

ref: Family in America 9:4, April 1995.

The Anti-poverty Factor

Risk that a child will spend 7 or more years in poverty



Increased numbers of children living in poverty in recent years are chiefly the result of more single-parent families.

ref: Family Research Council. *In Focus*: Fatherless families: a growing problem.

The Role of Father

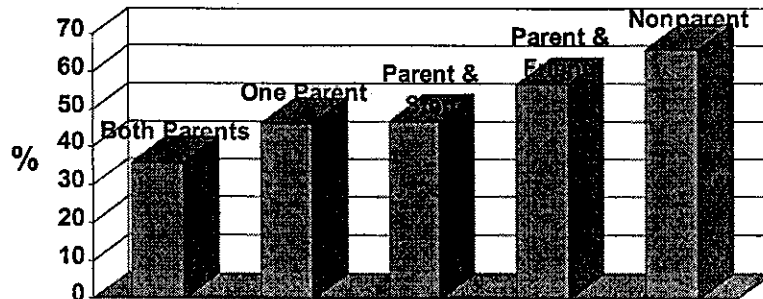
- 1/3 of America's children live apart from their fathers.
- 1/2 will spend some of their childhood in a household without a father.



As a result of the increased number of single parents and broken marriages, many children grow up in a household without a father. This has important societal implications.

Teen Sexual Activity

Sexual activity in teens who live with:



For both males and females, the presence of a father in the home is strongly associated with postponing sexual intercourse as a teenager.

Most teens who don't live with both parents live with their mothers. The presence of a stepfather or mother's boyfriend in the home doesn't compensate for the father's absence.

Teenagers who live with neither parent have a yet higher risk of early sexual involvement.

ref: Graham M, Nelson D: Adolescent sexuality survey of Linn County, IA (unpublished data), 1990.

Fatherlessness Perpetuates Itself

- Young women growing up without a father in the home are
 - less likely to marry
 - twice as likely to divorce
 - 2 1/2 times as likely to be unwed parents
- compared to those from two-parent families.

Single-parent families tend to raise more single parents.

Young women who spent some of their childhood years without their fathers are less likely to marry--about 5 percent less likely for each year the father was absent. If they do marry, they are less likely to stay married.

At the same time, these young women are more likely to become teen parents, and their brothers are more likely to become unmarried teen fathers.

ref: The Family in America 11:2 (Feb 1996)

ref: The Family in America 8:9 (Sept 1994)

Father as Crime Preventer

- Fatherlessness is the strongest predictor of juvenile crime: 70% of juveniles in correctional facilities grew up without a father.
- Violent crime rates correlate strongly with rates of unwed motherhood.
- Violent crime rates do not correlate with male unemployment rates.



Children who grow up without father are also more likely to have behavior problems, to run afoul of the law, and to be incarcerated.

These risks seem to be strongly related to the absence of a father, not just to the financial hardships of the single parent family.

ref: The Family in America 2(6), June 1988. citing: Smith DA, Jarjoura GR: Social structure and criminal victimization. J. Research in Crime and Delinquency 25:27-52 (Feb 1988).

ref: The Family in America 5(5), May 1991. citing: Mednick BR, Baker RL, Carothers LE: Patterns of family instability and crime: the association of timing of the family's disruption with subsequent adolescent and young adult criminality. J. Youth and Adolescence 19:201-218 (1990).

What can we do?

We make substantial efforts to get people to make healthy choices and avoid risky ones. We discourage smoking, speeding, drug use, and drunk driving. We encourage exercise, wearing seat belts, paying taxes, and using motorcycle helmets. Our efforts include social approval or disapproval, moral suasion, and even the force of law.

We do this in part because we believe that certain choices are better for people than others. We also know that certain choices are better for society than others.

Well, marriage offers greater benefits than regular exercise and wearing seat belts. And the hazards and costs of divorce and single parenting eclipse those of smoking and unsafe driving.

Is it not prudent and appropriate, then, to encourage marriage and stable families, to discourage single parenting, cohabitation, and divorce?

Conclusions: what to do

- Create positive expectations for marriage, family
 - Inform adults & children of the benefits
 - Mention marriage in social studies, etc.

How can we do this? First, we can tell the truth about the benefits of marriage. We can inform ourselves and others about the issues we have discussed today.

We can create the positive expectation that, in most instances, marriage will not only be the choice of most adults in our society, but will be the choice that enriches their lives. Marriage in our society is not perfect, but statistically it's way ahead of the competition.

To this end, marriage deserves positive mention in our schools and social studies textbooks.

Conclusions: what to do

- Protect intact families
 - Legal sanction & protection for marriage
 - Favorable tax treatment
 - Support parents' rights, parental authority
 - School choice
 - Child rearing decisions
 - Ethical & religious teaching

Second, we can make sure our other societal institutions protect and encourage intact families.

Our laws should recognize and respect the solemn commitment inherent in marriage. We should expect--and require--married couples to fulfill that commitment. When possible our social agencies, churches, schools, and other institutions should operate in ways that aid marriages rather than straining them.

The tax system can be improved to eliminate "marriage penalties," those rules that make taxes higher for a married couple than for the same individuals living apart or cohabiting without marriage. Reflecting the reduced societal costs we might even choose to provide a tax break to married couples.

Recognizing that two married parents usually provide an overwhelmingly positive influence on their children's development, we should support the authority of parents to direct their children's education, religious training, and discipline. Those rare occasions when parents don't act in the child's best interest should be treated as exceptions, not the norm.

Avoid encouraging family breakup or single parenting

- Subsidies for single parenting
- Financial inducements to family breakup
- Restrictive adoption laws

Some well-intentioned programs have unintended influences that disrupt families. If we provide rent assistance, medical assistance, food stamps, and a monthly check to the pregnant teenager living on her own, but deny the same benefits to the teenager living with her parents or with her husband, we are subtly encouraging teenagers to move out and become pregnant.

If we require a "no man in the house" rule for providing aid to a mother and her young children, we are teaching her not to form, and not to rely on, a stable relationship with a husband.

Adoption laws that give the unmarried father the right to veto the mother's adoption decision often stifle potential adoptions out of the mother's fear that the infant will be placed in the father's custody. The child loses the opportunity to be raised by two married adoptive parents.

Summary

- Marriage provides measurable benefits
- Marriage-based families reduce childhood problems
- Intact families impose lower costs on society
- Strengthening and preserving families makes sense

To summarize, then, we have some rather unsurprising conclusions:

The benefits of being married have been shown repeatedly in measure after measure of personal well being.

Having married parents is the healthiest environment for growing children.

Intact families reduce the costs to society of dealing with social problems.

Therefore, efforts to strengthen and preserve the institution of marriage make sense on a personal and a societal basis.

Joyce Kilmer said that "only God can make a tree." Similarly, we have been told that "marriages are made in heaven." Our laws and culture are not the critical factors in creating good marriages. But like trees, marriages grow better in some climates than others.

Our societal goal should be to provide the type of environment where marriages and families can flourish to their full potential. Will you help?

PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY AND WORK
OPPORTUNITY RECONCILIATION
ACT OF 1996

For Legislative History of Act, see p. 2183.

An Act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to section 201(a)(1) of the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 1997.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996".

SEC. 2. TABLE OF CONTENTS.

The table of contents for this Act is as follows:

TITLE I—BLOCK GRANTS FOR TEMPORARY ASSISTANCE FOR NEEDY
FAMILIES

- Sec. 101. Findings.
- Sec. 102. Reference to Social Security Act.
- Sec. 103. Block grants to States.
- Sec. 104. Services provided by charitable, religious, or private organizations.
- Sec. 105. Census data on grandparents as primary caregivers for their grandchildren.
- Sec. 106. Report on data processing.
- Sec. 107. Study on alternative outcomes measures.
- Sec. 108. Conforming amendments to the Social Security Act.
- Sec. 109. Conforming amendments to the Food Stamp Act of 1977 and related provisions.
- Sec. 110. Conforming amendments to other laws.
- Sec. 111. Development of prototype of counterfeit-resistant Social Security card required.
- Sec. 112. Modifications to the job opportunities for certain low-income individuals program.
- Sec. 113. Secretarial submission of legislative proposal for technical and conforming amendments.
- Sec. 114. Assuring medicaid coverage for low-income families.
- Sec. 115. Denial of assistance and benefits for certain drug-related convictions.
- Sec. 116. Effective date; transition rule.

TITLE II—SUPPLEMENTAL SECURITY INCOME

- Sec. 200. Reference to Social Security Act.

Subtitle A—Eligibility Restrictions

- Sec. 201. Denial of SSI benefits for 10 years to individuals found to have fraudulently misrepresented residence in order to obtain benefits simultaneously in 2 or more States.
- Sec. 202. Denial of SSI benefits for fugitive felons and probation and parole violators.
- Sec. 203. Treatment of prisoners.
- Sec. 204. Effective date of application for benefits.

Subtitle B—Benefits for Disabled Children

- Sec. 211. Definition and eligibility rules.
- Sec. 212. Eligibility redeterminations and continuing disability reviews.

Personal
Responsibility
and Work
Opportunity
Reconciliation
Act of 1996.
42 USC 1305
note.

TITLE I—BLOCK GRANTS FOR TEMPORARY ASSISTANCE FOR NEEDY FAMILIES

42 USC 601 note. SEC. 101. FINDINGS.

The Congress makes the following findings:

- (1) Marriage is the foundation of a successful society.
- (2) Marriage is an essential institution of a successful society which promotes the interests of children.
- (3) Promotion of responsible fatherhood and motherhood is integral to successful child rearing and the well-being of children.

(4) In 1992, only 54 percent of single-parent families with children had a child support order established and, of that 54 percent, only about one-half received the full amount due. Of the cases enforced through the public child support enforcement system, only 18 percent of the caseload has a collection.

(5) The number of individuals receiving aid to families with dependent children (in this section referred to as "AFDC") has more than tripled since 1965. More than two-thirds of these recipients are children. Eighty-nine percent of children receiving AFDC benefits now live in homes in which no father is present.

(A)(i) The average monthly number of children receiving AFDC benefits—

- (I) was 3,300,000 in 1965;
- (II) was 6,200,000 in 1970;
- (III) was 7,400,000 in 1980; and
- (IV) was 9,300,000 in 1992.

(ii) While the number of children receiving AFDC benefits increased nearly threefold between 1965 and 1992, the total number of children in the United States aged 0 to 18 has declined by 5.5 percent.

(B) The Department of Health and Human Services has estimated that 12,000,000 children will receive AFDC benefits within 10 years.

(C) The increase in the number of children receiving public assistance is closely related to the increase in births to unmarried women. Between 1970 and 1991, the percentage of live births to unmarried women increased nearly threefold, from 10.7 percent to 29.5 percent.

(6) The increase of out-of-wedlock pregnancies and births is well documented as follows:

(A) It is estimated that the rate of nonmarital teen pregnancy rose 23 percent from 54 pregnancies per 1,000 unmarried teenagers in 1976 to 66.7 pregnancies in 1991. The overall rate of nonmarital pregnancy rose 14 percent from 90.8 pregnancies per 1,000 unmarried women in 1980 to 103 in both 1991 and 1992. In contrast, the overall pregnancy rate for married couples decreased 7.3 percent between 1980 and 1991, from 126.9 pregnancies per 1,000 married women in 1980 to 117.6 pregnancies in 1991.

(B) The total of all out-of-wedlock births between 1970 and 1991 has risen from 10.7 percent to 29.5 percent and

if the current trend continues, 50 percent of all births by the year 2015 will be out-of-wedlock.

(7) An effective strategy to combat teenage pregnancy must address the issue of male responsibility, including statutory rape culpability and prevention. The increase of teenage pregnancies among the youngest girls is particularly severe and is linked to predatory sexual practices by men who are significantly older.

(A) It is estimated that in the late 1980's, the rate for girls age 14 and under giving birth increased 26 percent.

(B) Data indicates that at least half of the children born to teenage mothers are fathered by adult men. Available data suggests that almost 70 percent of births to teenage girls are fathered by men over age 20.

(C) Surveys of teen mothers have revealed that a majority of such mothers have histories of sexual and physical abuse, primarily with older adult men.

(8) The negative consequences of an out-of-wedlock birth on the mother, the child, the family, and society are well documented as follows:

(A) Young women 17 and under who give birth outside of marriage are more likely to go on public assistance and to spend more years on welfare once enrolled. These combined effects of "younger and longer" increase total AFDC costs per household by 25 percent to 30 percent for 17-year-olds.

(B) Children born out-of-wedlock have a substantially higher risk of being born at a very low or moderately low birth weight.

(C) Children born out-of-wedlock are more likely to experience low verbal cognitive attainment, as well as more child abuse, and neglect.

(D) Children born out-of-wedlock were more likely to have lower cognitive scores, lower educational aspirations, and a greater likelihood of becoming teenage parents themselves.

(E) Being born out-of-wedlock significantly reduces the chances of the child growing up to have an intact marriage.

(F) Children born out-of-wedlock are 3 times more likely to be on welfare when they grow up.

(9) Currently 35 percent of children in single-parent homes were born out-of-wedlock, nearly the same percentage as that of children in single-parent homes whose parents are divorced (37 percent). While many parents find themselves, through divorce or tragic circumstances beyond their control, facing the difficult task of raising children alone, nevertheless, the negative consequences of raising children in single-parent homes are well documented as follows:

(A) Only 9 percent of married-couple families with children under 18 years of age have income below the national poverty level. In contrast, 46 percent of female-headed households with children under 18 years of age are below the national poverty level.

(B) Among single-parent families, nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ of the mothers who never married received AFDC while only $\frac{1}{3}$ of divorced mothers received AFDC.

(C) Children born into families receiving welfare assistance are 3 times more likely to be on welfare when they reach adulthood than children not born into families receiving welfare.

(D) Mothers under 20 years of age are at the greatest risk of bearing low birth weight babies.

(E) The younger the single-parent mother, the less likely she is to finish high school.

(F) Young women who have children before finishing high school are more likely to receive welfare assistance for a longer period of time.

(G) Between 1985 and 1990, the public cost of births to teenage mothers under the aid to families with dependent children program, the food stamp program, and the medicaid program has been estimated at \$120,000,000,000.

(H) The absence of a father in the life of a child has a negative effect on school performance and peer adjustment.

(I) Children of teenage single parents have lower cognitive scores, lower educational aspirations, and a greater likelihood of becoming teenage parents themselves.

(J) Children of single-parent homes are 3 times more likely to fail and repeat a year in grade school than are children from intact 2-parent families.

(K) Children from single-parent homes are almost 4 times more likely to be expelled or suspended from school.

(L) Neighborhoods with larger percentages of youth aged 12 through 20 and areas with higher percentages of single-parent households have higher rates of violent crime.

(M) Of those youth held for criminal offenses within the State juvenile justice system, only 29.8 percent lived primarily in a home with both parents. In contrast to these incarcerated youth, 73.9 percent of the 62,800,000 children in the Nation's resident population were living with both parents.

(10) Therefore, in light of this demonstration of the crisis in our Nation, it is the sense of the Congress that prevention of out-of-wedlock pregnancy and reduction in out-of-wedlock birth are very important Government interests and the policy contained in part A of title IV of the Social Security Act (as amended by section 103(a) of this Act) is intended to address the crisis.

SEC. 102. REFERENCE TO SOCIAL SECURITY ACT.

Except as otherwise specifically provided, wherever in this title an amendment is expressed in terms of an amendment to or repeal of a section or other provision, the reference shall be considered to be made to that section or other provision of the Social Security Act.

SEC. 103. BLOCK GRANTS TO STATES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Part A of title IV (42 U.S.C. 601 et seq.) is amended—

(1) by striking all that precedes section 418 (as added by section 603(b)(2) of this Act) and inserting the following:

42 USC prec.
601, 601-610,
612, 613, 615-
617.

"PART A—BLOCK GRANTS TO STATES FOR TEMPORARY ASSISTANCE FOR NEEDY FAMILIES

42 USC 601.

"SEC. 401. PURPOSE.

"(a) IN GENERAL.—The purpose of this part is to increase the flexibility of States in operating a program designed to—

"(1) provide assistance to needy families so that children may be cared for in their own homes or in the homes of relatives;

"(2) end the dependence of needy parents on government benefits by promoting job preparation, work, and marriage;

"(3) prevent and reduce the incidence of out-of-wedlock pregnancies and establish annual numerical goals for preventing and reducing the incidence of these pregnancies; and

"(4) encourage the formation and maintenance of two-parent families.

"(b) NO INDIVIDUAL ENTITLEMENT.—This part shall not be interpreted to entitle any individual or family to assistance under any State program funded under this part.

42 USC 602.

"SEC. 402. ELIGIBLE STATES; STATE PLAN.

"(a) IN GENERAL.—As used in this part, the term 'eligible State' means, with respect to a fiscal year, a State that, during the 2-year period immediately preceding the fiscal year, has submitted to the Secretary a plan that the Secretary has found includes the following:

"(1) OUTLINE OF FAMILY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.—

"(A) GENERAL PROVISIONS.—A written document that outlines how the State intends to do the following:

"(i) Conduct a program, designed to serve all political subdivisions in the State (not necessarily in a uniform manner), that provides assistance to needy families with (or expecting) children and provides parents with job preparation, work, and support services to enable them to leave the program and become self-sufficient.

"(ii) Require a parent or caretaker receiving assistance under the program to engage in work (as defined by the State) once the State determines the parent or caretaker is ready to engage in work, or once the parent or caretaker has received assistance under the program for 24 months (whether or not consecutive), whichever is earlier.

"(iii) Ensure that parents and caretakers receiving assistance under the program engage in work activities in accordance with section 407.

"(iv) Take such reasonable steps as the State deems necessary to restrict the use and disclosure of information about individuals and families receiving assistance under the program attributable to funds provided by the Federal Government.

"(v) Establish goals and take action to prevent and reduce the incidence of out-of-wedlock pregnancies, with special emphasis on teenage pregnancies, and establish numerical goals for reducing the illegitimacy

"(C) \$3,554,000 with respect to the Virgin Islands; and

"(D) \$1,000,000 with respect to American Samoa.

"(5) TOTAL AMOUNT EXPENDED BY THE TERRITORY.—The term 'total amount expended by the territory'—

"(A) does not include expenditures during the fiscal year from amounts made available by the Federal Government; and

"(B) when used with respect to fiscal year 1995, also does not include—

"(i) expenditures during fiscal year 1995 under subsection (g) or (i) of section 402 (as in effect on September 30, 1995); or

"(ii) any expenditures during fiscal year 1995 for which the territory (but for section 1108, as in effect on September 30, 1995) would have received reimbursement from the Federal Government.

"(d) AUTHORITY TO TRANSFER FUNDS TO CERTAIN PROGRAMS.—A territory to which an amount is paid under subsection (b) of this section may use the amount in accordance with section 404(d).

"(e) MAINTENANCE OF EFFORT.—The ceiling amount with respect to a territory shall be reduced for a fiscal year by an amount equal to the amount (if any) by which—

"(1) the total amount expended by the territory under all programs of the territory operated pursuant to the provisions of law specified in subsection (a) (as such provisions were in effect for fiscal year 1995) for fiscal year 1995; exceeds

"(2) the total amount expended by the territory under all programs of the territory that are funded under the provisions of law specified in subsection (a) for the fiscal year that immediately precedes the fiscal year referred to in the matter preceding paragraph (1)."

(c) ELIMINATION OF CHILD CARE PROGRAMS UNDER THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT.—

(1) AFDC AND TRANSITIONAL CHILD CARE PROGRAMS.—Section 402 (42 U.S.C. 602) is amended by striking subsection (g).

(2) AT-RISK CHILD CARE PROGRAM.—

(A) AUTHORIZATION.—Section 402 (42 U.S.C. 602) is amended by striking subsection (i).

(B) FUNDING PROVISIONS.—Section 403 (42 U.S.C. 603) is amended by striking subsection (n).

SEC. 104. SERVICES PROVIDED BY CHARITABLE, RELIGIOUS, OR PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS. 42 USC 604a.

(a) IN GENERAL.—

(1) STATE OPTIONS.—A State may—

(A) administer and provide services under the programs described in subparagraphs (A) and (B)(i) of paragraph (2) through contracts with charitable, religious, or private organizations; and

(B) provide beneficiaries of assistance under the programs described in subparagraphs (A) and (B)(ii) of paragraph (2) with certificates, vouchers, or other forms of disbursement which are redeemable with such organizations.

(2) PROGRAMS DESCRIBED.—The programs described in this paragraph are the following programs:

(A) A State program funded under part A of title IV of the Social Security Act (as amended by section 103(a) of this Act).

(B) Any other program established or modified under title I or II of this Act, that—

(i) permits contracts with organizations; or

(ii) permits certificates, vouchers, or other forms of disbursement to be provided to beneficiaries, as a means of providing assistance.

Contracts.

(b) RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS.—The purpose of this section is to allow States to contract with religious organizations, or to allow religious organizations to accept certificates, vouchers, or other forms of disbursement under any program described in subsection (a)(2), on the same basis as any other nongovernmental provider without impairing the religious character of such organizations, and without diminishing the religious freedom of beneficiaries of assistance funded under such program.

(c) NONDISCRIMINATION AGAINST RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS.—In the event a State exercises its authority under subsection (a), religious organizations are eligible, on the same basis as any other private organization, as contractors to provide assistance, or to accept certificates, vouchers, or other forms of disbursement, under any program described in subsection (a)(2) so long as the programs are implemented consistent with the Establishment Clause of the United States Constitution. Except as provided in subsection (k), neither the Federal Government nor a State receiving funds under such programs shall discriminate against an organization which is or applies to be a contractor to provide assistance, or which accepts certificates, vouchers, or other forms of disbursement, on the basis that the organization has a religious character.

(d) RELIGIOUS CHARACTER AND FREEDOM.—

(1) RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS.—A religious organization with a contract described in subsection (a)(1)(A), or which accepts certificates, vouchers, or other forms of disbursement under subsection (a)(1)(B), shall retain its independence from Federal, State, and local governments, including such organization's control over the definition, development, practice, and expression of its religious beliefs.

(2) ADDITIONAL SAFEGUARDS.—Neither the Federal Government nor a State shall require a religious organization to—

(A) alter its form of internal governance; or

(B) remove religious art, icons, scripture, or other symbols;

in order to be eligible to contract to provide assistance, or to accept certificates, vouchers, or other forms of disbursement, funded under a program described in subsection (a)(2).

(e) RIGHTS OF BENEFICIARIES OF ASSISTANCE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—If an individual described in paragraph (2) has an objection to the religious character of the organization or institution from which the individual receives, or would receive, assistance funded under any program described in subsection (a)(2), the State in which the individual resides shall provide such individual (if otherwise eligible for such assistance) within a reasonable period of time after the date of such objection with assistance from an alternative provider

that is accessible to the individual and the value of which is not less than the value of the assistance which the individual would have received from such organization.

(2) **INDIVIDUAL DESCRIBED.**—An individual described in this paragraph is an individual who receives, applies for, or requests to apply for, assistance under a program described in subsection (a)(2).

(f) **EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES.**—A religious organization's exemption provided under section 702 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42 U.S.C. 2000e-1a) regarding employment practices shall not be affected by its participation in, or receipt of funds from, programs described in subsection (a)(2).

(g) **NONDISCRIMINATION AGAINST BENEFICIARIES.**—Except as otherwise provided in law, a religious organization shall not discriminate against an individual in regard to rendering assistance funded under any program described in subsection (a)(2) on the basis of religion, a religious belief, or refusal to actively participate in a religious practice.

(h) **FISCAL ACCOUNTABILITY.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Except as provided in paragraph (2), any religious organization contracting to provide assistance funded under any program described in subsection (a)(2) shall be subject to the same regulations as other contractors to account in accord with generally accepted auditing principles for the use of such funds provided under such programs.

(2) **LIMITED AUDIT.**—If such organization segregates Federal funds provided under such programs into separate accounts, then only the financial assistance provided with such funds shall be subject to audit.

(i) **COMPLIANCE.**—Any party which seeks to enforce its rights under this section may assert a civil action for injunctive relief exclusively in an appropriate State court against the entity or agency that allegedly commits such violation.

(j) **LIMITATIONS ON USE OF FUNDS FOR CERTAIN PURPOSES.**—No funds provided directly to institutions or organizations to provide services and administer programs under subsection (a)(1)(A) shall be expended for sectarian worship, instruction, or proselytization.

(k) **PREEMPTION.**—Nothing in this section shall be construed to preempt any provision of a State constitution or State statute that prohibits or restricts the expenditure of State funds in or by religious organizations.

SEC. 105. CENSUS DATA ON GRANDPARENTS AS PRIMARY CAREGIVERS FOR THEIR GRANDCHILDREN.

13 USC 141 note.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Not later than 90 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Commerce, in carrying out section 141 of title 13, United States Code, shall expand the data collection efforts of the Bureau of the Census (in this section referred to as the "Bureau") to enable the Bureau to collect statistically significant data, in connection with its decennial census and its mid-decade census, concerning the growing trend of grandparents who are the primary caregivers for their grandchildren.

(b) **EXPANDED CENSUS QUESTION.**—In carrying out subsection (a), the Secretary of Commerce shall expand the Bureau's census question that details households which include both grandparents and their grandchildren. The expanded question shall be formulated to distinguish between the following households:

BOSTON Herald

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 2000 ■ 50 CENTS

Family matters most

A poll commissioned by the Alliance for Marriage shows voters think strengthening the family is the most important issue confronting the nation. Presidential candidates, please take note.

According to the Wirthlin Worldwide survey, 64 percent of Americans chose supporting the family over job creation, while 77 percent said the family was more important than environmental cleanup. Almost 60 percent of respondents think the state of the American family is "weak" — a sentiment that cuts across political lines.

The Alliance for Marriage promotes the family by encouraging business practices like flex-time,

pushing tax cuts for married couples with children and supporting legislation requiring counseling for parents seeking a divorce.

Other than a passing reference here and there, neither Gov. George Bush nor Vice President Al Gore has put much emphasis on the family in the course of his campaign. Gore's idea of aiding embattled families is creating new social programs. Bush merely acknowledges the need to cut taxes for married couples.

Each candidate is missing an opportunity to seriously address an issue voters care about deeply.

To paraphrase the campaign strategy of one former candidate: It's the family, stupid.

The Decline of Families Tops List of Voter Worries

By Matt Daniels

Election Day 2000 may see the critical importance of the two-parent-household vote. That's the bottom line of a new national poll of American adults conducted by Wirthlin Worldwide on a range of issues related to marriage and families in the United States. The poll was commissioned by the Alliance for Marriage, a non-partisan, multicultural coalition dedicated to promoting marriage and addressing the crisis of fatherless families in the United States.

This national Wirthlin poll of more than 1,000 American adults reveals 6 out of 10 Americans understand that the most basic social institution in our culture — the American family — is weak. In addition, an overwhelming majority of Americans — regardless of party affiliation — agree that the strength and health of American families should be priority No. 1 for our political leaders. In other words, to quote Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York, an overwhelming majority of Americans understands that "the principal aim of American government at every level should be to see that children are born into intact families and that they remain so."

Specifically, 64 percent of all Americans rank strengthening families as a greater national priority than increasing job opportunities. Similarly, an overwhelming 77 percent of Americans regard strengthening families as a greater national-policy priority than even a cleaner environment. And,

finally, a stunning 92 percent of Americans agree with the view that our nation can only go forward if American families are strengthened.

We at the Alliance for Marriage believe that there is an integral connection between the institution of marriage and the health of families in

epidemic level of fatherlessness in the United States represents a disaster for children and society. In fact, most of our serious social problems — from youth crime to child poverty — track far more closely with fatherlessness than they do with other social variables such as race, educational level or

the condition of the economy. For example, the percentage of fatherless families in a community reliably predicts that community's rate of violent crime, while the community's poverty level does not. Similarly, white children in fatherless families in America are more than twice as likely to live in poverty as African-American children who have a father in the home.

My own personal experience offers something of a miniature portrait

of the tremendous human and social costs of fatherlessness in America. After my parents married, my mother followed my father to New York City in the early 1960s. When I was two years old, my father abandoned my family. Divorce became the easiest way for my father to escape the responsibility of having to support a wife and child. Although my mother never expected that she would need to provide for a family, she obtained a position as a secretary and worked for several years to keep us in our apartment in a deteriorating part of Spanish Harlem.

A few years later, my mother was the victim of a serious violent crime. While coming home late from work one night, she got off at the wrong bus stop and was mugged by four men. She sustained injuries that left her with a per-



the United States. After all, in virtually every society on the face of the Earth, marriage is what makes fatherhood more than a biological event — by connecting men to the children whom they bring into the world.

As the American people clearly understand, the American family is in serious trouble. At present, a historically unprecedented percentage of families with children in our nation are fatherless. In fact, more than 25 million American children (more than one in three) are being raised in a family with no father present in the home. This represents a dramatic tripling of the level of fatherlessness in America during the last 30 years.

Unfortunately, there is an overwhelming body of social-science research data, which shows that the

manent disability and lifelong depression. Around this time, she started receiving welfare benefits. Apart from a short period after she became terminally ill, my mother remained on welfare for the rest of her life.

If my father had not abandoned my family, many of the most difficult aspects of my own childhood could have been avoided. Another source of income in our home would have prevented my family from slipping into poverty and relying on public assistance. Another parent to help shoulder the burden of raising a child and helping to manage the affairs of our family might have prevented my mother

from sliding into depression during a period of severe crisis. And a father would also have provided a critical male role model and a needed source of discipline in my home as I grew older.

Tragically, the modern epidemic of fatherlessness means that an increasing number of children in America grows up under similarly difficult conditions. In the end, we can at least be encouraged that a clear majority of the American people understands the real problem that faces America — the decline of the American family — even if some politicians and political leaders do not.

Moreover, the good news in all of this is that fatherlessness is a completely curable social disease. This is a great nation. We can do better than accept historically unprecedented levels of youth crime and child poverty because more than one-third of our nation's children are being raised without a father. We can — and must — rebuild a culture of marriage and intact families in this country while we still have time.

Matt Daniels is an attorney and executive director of the Virginia-based nonprofit organization Alliance for Marriage.

... as Media Trumpets the Triumph of Sexy Singles

By Don Feder

Time, which must give up the pretense of being a newsmagazine, had a recent cover story ("Who Needs a Husband?") celebrating single women. The feminists at *Time* are gratified to see that a trend they and their media sisters have nurtured for decades is bearing fruit pleasing to their palates.

The story is illustrated with a picture of those 30-something babes from the HBO cable TV series *Sex and the City* — as if this show is any more representative of single women than HBO's *The Sopranos* is an accurate portrait of Italian-Americans.

To give it a journalistic air, the article is seeded with statistics. In 1997, 65 percent of women ages 25 to 55 were married, compared to 83 percent in 1963. Today, two out of five business travelers are women. Last year, unmarried women accounted for 20 percent of home sales, nearly double the figure of 15 years ago.

Single women feel no drive to marry, *Time* tells us. In one survey, only 34 percent said that if Mr. Perfect didn't come along they'd settle for Mr. Human. This reminds me of a parable my grandmother used to tell of a woman who wandered the world looking for the ideal man. When at last she found him, he was searching for the ideal woman.

"Single by choice — it's an empowering statement for many women," the magazine exalted. Single women are sassy, spunky, livin' life and lovin' it. They have high-powered careers, exotic vacations, financial security and a live-in lover or a fling here and there. Who could ask for anything more? The ladies *Time* presents to illustrate its point are all career women (no toll-

booth attendants, sales clerks or overworked waitresses here). One is the director of a nonprofit organization in Washington, with "a gorgeous Capitol Hill town house, trips all over the world and a silver blue BMW roadster."

To be sure, and the typical single man looks like he just stepped out of the pages of *GQ*, summers on Martha's Vineyard and races sports cars when he isn't dating supermodels.

For the last 30 years, feminists in academia have instructed young women in the virtues of independence and in the folly of being subjugated to

*Only 34 percent
of women said if
Mr. Perfect didn't
come along
they'd settle for
Mr. Human.*

men. Feminists in prime-time television filled their heads with visions of the solo good life. Whenever commentators mentioned Donna Reed, it was with a sneer ("You don't have to be the appendage of a man. You're a person, damn it!").

Feminists in the news media reported on how women were getting along without "Him" very well. It was total cultural immersion, which created an overwhelming impression in impressionable young women: Men are unreliable. Women don't need marriage for fulfillment. In fact, tra-

ditional marriage is suffocating.

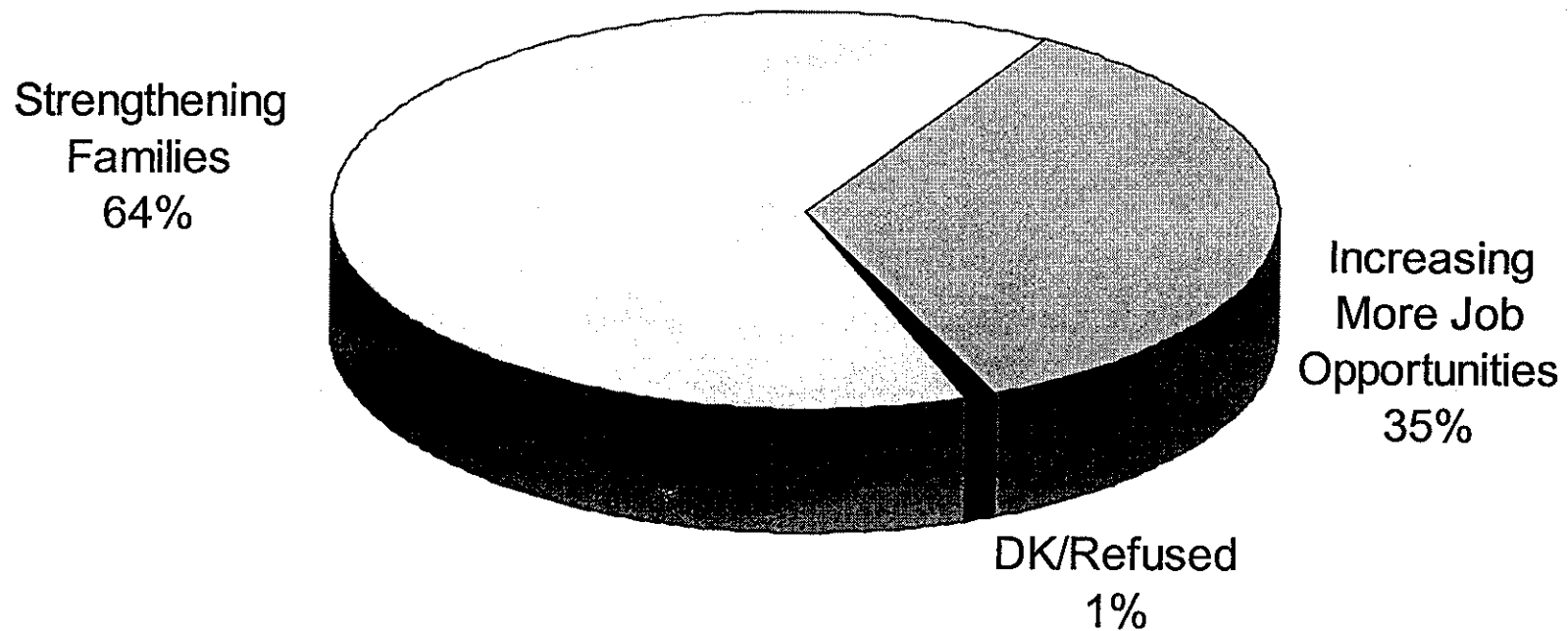
Given this cultural conditioning, it isn't surprising that fewer and fewer women, and men, are marrying. Is that good for them? More importantly, is it good for society? There was a time when people felt an obligation to wed. Marriage signified membership in the club of grown-ups. Adults are responsible for others — spouses and children. Yuppie singles-by-choice are big kids with expensive toys.

Marriage was seen as a commitment to the future — an acknowledgment that the world will go on after us and we have a role to play in assuring its continuation. *Time* had a long and laudatory companion piece on solo parenting ("Mom on Her Own"). But eight years after *Murphy Brown* and after a wealth of data on the risks we run in raising children without fathers, does anyone outside the media still believe that this is a salutary trend?

The Bible admonishes a man to leave his parents and cleave to his wife, and they shall become one flesh. Marriage is more than a partnership and more than companionship, though both are important. Marriage is a land that singles can only glimpse, like passengers on a ship within sight of but still far from shore. It's a kiss in the morning and a hug on coming home in the evening. It's knowing that someone knows you as well as any other person can. It's going through life joined at the heart. The alternative is a pre-packaged, single-serving life. Perhaps HBO will favor us with a more realistic spin-off of the Sarah Jessica Parker series — *Sex and the City at Age 50* — or, *Let Me Tell You About My Cat*.

Don Feder is an editorialist for the Boston Herald and a syndicated columnist.

Strengthening Families vs. Job Opportunities

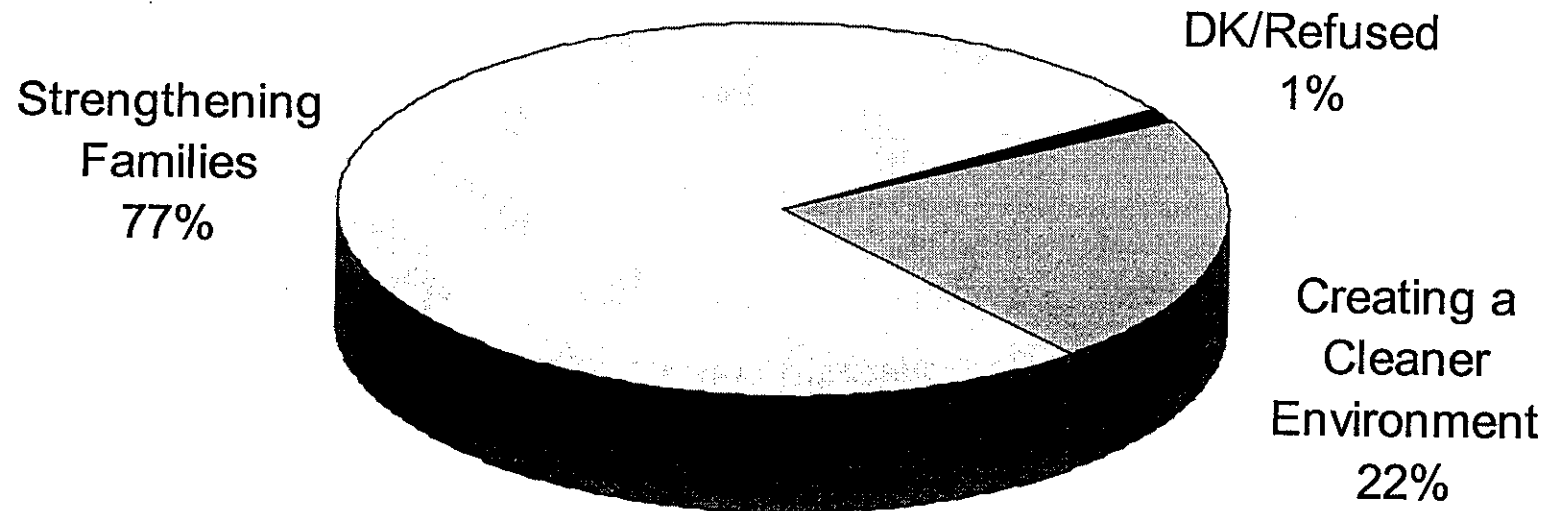


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percentage points

WIRTHLIN WORLDWIDE

There are many issues being discussed by politicians these days. Three challenges facing us today that some feel are important are strengthening families, increasing meaningful job opportunities and creating a cleaner environment. I'm going to read these to you two at a time and have you tell me which one of the two issues is most important...Strengthening families or increasing more meaningful job opportunities?

Strengthening Families vs. Cleaner Environment

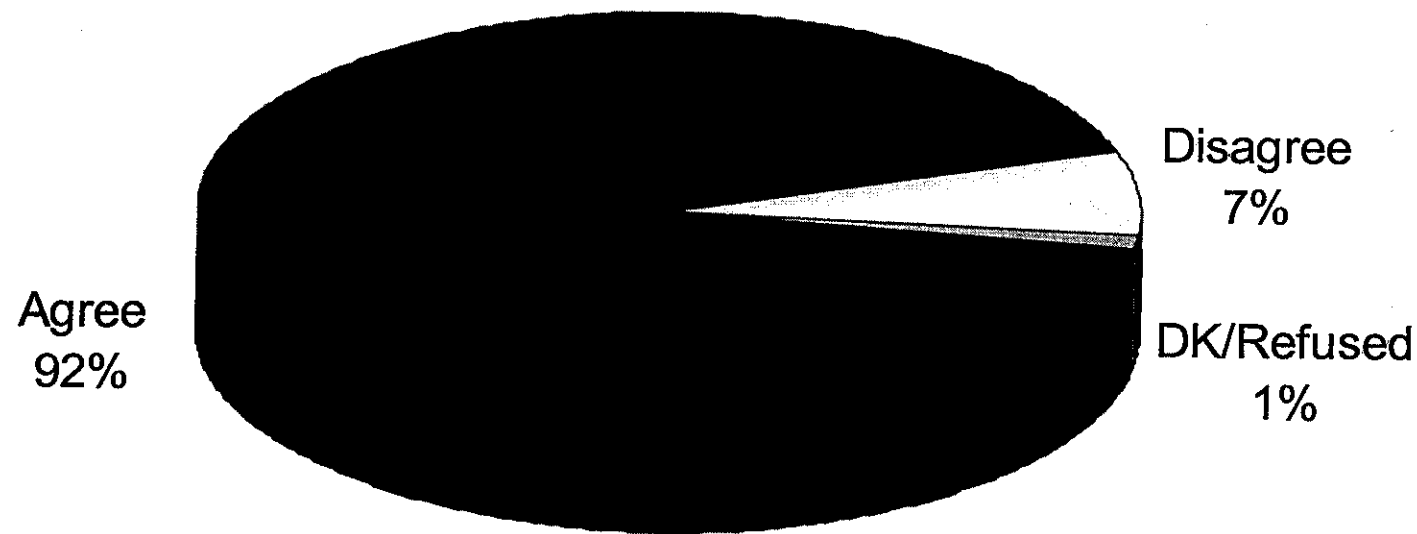


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WIRTHLIN WORLDWIDE

There are many issues being discussed by politicians these days. Three challenges facing us today that some feel are important are strengthening families, increasing meaningful job opportunities and creating a cleaner environment. I'm going to read these to you two at a time and have you tell me which one of the two issues is most important...Creating a cleaner environment or strengthening families?

We can only go forward in this country if families and family values are strengthened.



WIRTHLIN WORLDWIDE

*Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement about families:
Families stand at the center of our society. We can only go forward in this country if
families and family values are strengthened.*

Americans Support Initiatives to Strengthen Families

	% A P P R O V E			
	Total	GOP	Dem	Ind
Encouraging businesses to voluntarily do more to help strengthen their employees' marriages by offering flex-time/job-sharing/home-based work options	87	84	90	82
Recognizing and acknowledging the media when they accurately reflect or portray the positive influence of marriage on the lives of adults and children	80	82	80	69
Requiring counseling to married couples with children who are considering a divorce before the divorce is granted	78	79	78	71
Decreasing taxes for married couples with children	76	78	77	69
Increasing tax incentives for adoptions	63	62	65	52
Eliminating all federal and state welfare policies, which penalize welfare recipients who are married	40	44	37	38

MARRIAGE IN AMERICA

A Report to the Nation



Council on Families in America
March 1995

The Council on Families in America is sponsored by the
Institute for American Values

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The Institute for American Values wishes to express its gratitude to the William H. Donner Foundation, the JM Foundation, and the Philip M. McKenna Foundation for their generous support of the Council on Families in America. The contributions of other donors are also greatly appreciated.

The art reproductions and accompanying texts presented in this report are works of school children in the New York City area depicting their images of family life. The paintings are part of Children's Voices, a project sponsored by the National Parenting Association with the help of the United Federation of Teachers and the New York City Art Teachers Association/UFT. The project was primarily funded by the American Express Foundation, Scholastic Inc., Showtime Networks, and Toys "R" Us. The National Parenting Association is a New York-based national non-profit membership organization devoted to supporting parents and families.

Cover:

**Drowning Love
How I See Myself as a Parent**

I 99% think I wouldn't be a good parent because I really do not want to be anyone's mother. In my picture, the parent is so vague.

However, in the picture I did show myself handcuffed, like a prisoner. as a parent, I would be a prisoner because when you're someone's mother you receive a lot of responsibility along with it. The golden bubble is to show the innocence of the children. The aura of blue-green is to show resentment, me having the "blue's." The black background represents "darkness," the darkness that surrounds my life.

E.A., girl, 9th grade, Brooklyn

MARRIAGE IN AMERICA

Executive Summary

The divorce revolution — the steady displacement of a marriage culture by a culture of divorce and unwed parenthood — has failed. It has created terrible hardships for children, incurred unsupportable social costs, and failed to deliver on its promise of greater adult happiness. The time has come to shift the focus of national attention from divorce to marriage and to rebuild a family culture based on enduring marital relationships.

Making marriage in America stronger will require a fundamental shift in cultural values and public policy. No one sector of society is responsible for the decline of marriage. We are all part of the problem, and therefore we all must be part of the solution. We must reclaim the ideal of marital permanence and recognize that out-of-wedlock childbearing does harm. Our goal for the next generation should be to increase the proportion of children who grow up with their two married parents and decrease the proportion who do not. Possible strategies for regaining a marriage culture are addressed to each major sector of society.

The Council on Families in America

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